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Problems of Inner City Areas (Politique d'Amenagement des Centres Villes)

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NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION
COMMITTEE ON THE CHALLENGES OF MODERN SOCIETY

Problems Of Inner City Areas

CCMS Report No. 91

Rapport CDSM No. 91

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Politique d'Aménagement des Centres Villes

COMITE SUR LES DEFIS DE LA SOCIETE MODERNE
ORGANISATION DU TRAITE DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD

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PROBLEMS OF INNER CITY AREAS

Proceedings of the CCMS Round Table Discussions
14th-15th March, 1978 in Brussels
edited by the CCMS Secretariat

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POLITIQUE D'AMENAGEMENT DES CENTRES VILLES

Compte rendu des débats de la table ronde du CDSM
du 14 au 15 mars 1978 à Bruxelles
édité par le Secrétariat du CDSM

- August 1978 -
- Août 1978 -

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Foreword

Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty provides that the NATO countries will contribute towards the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. To further this objective, the North Atlantic Council in November 1969 established a Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society (CCMS). The Council directed the Committee to "examine how to improve, in every practical way, the exchange of views and experience among Allied countries in the task of creating a better environment for their societies... [and to] consider specific problems of the human environment with the deliberate objective of stimulating action by member governments".

In addition to reviewing the Committee's complete work programme ranging from problems of air, ocean and inland water pollution to hazardous wastes, road safety, health care and energy, each Plenary Session includes a round table discussion covering national and international environmental problems and issues of common interest to member countries.

For the March 1978 round table discussion the Committee selected as a principal topic the Problems of Inner City Areas. Since this topic is of general and current interest and will remain of interest for many years to come, the Committee agreed that it would be worthwhile to make the prepared national statements and the Committee's discussions available to a wider public through the publication of a CCMS report. Accordingly, the present report has been prepared by the NATO International Staff.

L'article 2 du Traité de l'Atlantique Nord dispose que les pays membres de l'OTAN contribueront au développement de relations internationales pacifiques et amicales en développant les conditions propres à assurer la stabilité et le bien-être. Poursuivant cet objectif le Conseil de l'Atlantique Nord a créé en 1969 un Comité sur les Défis de la Société Moderne (CDSM). Le Conseil a engagé le Comité à "examiner comment améliorer, dans la pratique, les échanges de vues et d'expériences entre les nations alliées dans la tâche qui leur incombe de créer un meilleur environnement pour leur société ... (et) étudier les problèmes spécifiques de l'environnement humain dans le but de stimuler les actions des gouvernements membres".

Outre l'examen périodique des travaux du CDSM qui couvrent aussi bien les problèmes de l'air, des océans, des eaux intérieures, le traitement des déchets dangereux, la sécurité routière, les soins médicaux, l'énergie, chaque réunion plénière comporte un débat table ronde sur les questions d'intérêt commun pour les pays membres dans un cadre national ou international.

En mars 1978 le thème des débats de la table ronde portait sur les problèmes d'aménagement des centres villes. En raison de l'intérêt général que présente cette question, intérêt qui subsistera encore longtemps, le Comité a jugé utile de mettre à la disposition du public, grâce à la publication d'un rapport du CDSM, l'ensemble des déclarations nationales préparées sur ce sujet. En conséquent le présent rapport a été préparé par le Secrétariat international de l'OTAN.

CONTENTS

TABLE DES MATIERES

I.	Summary of Conclusions	Résumé des conclusions
II.	Prepared National Statements	Présentations nationales
	Belgium	Belgique
	Canada	Canada
	Denmark	Danemark
	France	France
	Germany	Allemagne
	Italy	Italie
	The Netherlands	Pays-Bas
	Portugal	Portugal
	United Kingdom	Royaume-Uni
	United States	Etats-Unis
III.	Summary of Discussions	Résumé des débats

PART I

PROBLEMS OF INNER CITY AREAS

Summary of Conclusions

PARTIE I

L'AMENAGEMENT DES CENTRES VILLES

Résumé des conclusions

PROBLEMS OF INNER CITY AREAS

Summary of Conclusions

A discussion on the problems of inner city areas is a natural follow-on to earlier work by the CCMS and member countries.

In 1971 the Committee organized an important conference in the United States, attended by the mayors of large cities in member countries, on the problems of quality of life in urban areas. Perhaps the time has come to assess what progress has been made since then in urban administration and technology.

Furthermore, the NATO Science Committee has supported research on certain aspects of urban development. Two scientific seminars have been held, one in 1975 on the planning of urban transport systems and another in 1977 on the psychological and social effects of over-population in urban areas.

I. The Situation and how it has come about

The following points emerge from the many contributions.

In the first place, why have a policy of inner city preservation? To preserve what we have or to prepare for tomorrow's physical environment? The question is pertinent and the reply to it largely determines the policies to be adopted.

The notion of the city centre is a vague one. It can mean the historical heart of a city or the main business district. Is it possible to compare, for instance, the centre of Manchester with the centre of New York? Does one speak in the same terms of urban environment in Bologne and London? Has Los Angeles only one centre? It is hard indeed to define the physical limits of city centres.

However, the fact remains that economic, financial, political and cultural activities are concentrated in inner city areas which, in addition to the functions referred to above, have three special characteristics: (1) a high level of commercial specialization, (2) a large number of offices and (3) a sizeable daytime population.

At the same time, city centres generally remain a sort of ghetto for a permanent, low-income population living in run-down housing and enjoying little in the way of public services and civic amenities.

Although not all inner city areas suffer from a decaying physical and social environment, the fact remains that the concentration there of the service industries inevitably entails:

(1) the replacement of traditional housing and shops by office blocks;

(2) the provision of major access roads (urban axial roads, urban commuter motorways, reserved traffic lanes and "park and ride" terminals, etc...) which eat up urban space;

(3) the provision of basic utilities (drainage, communications, heating) at the expense of civic amenities (trees and gardens, schools, cultural and health facilities);

(4) the uprooting of the rightful inhabitants who, finding themselves jobless in the city centres, gradually move to the outskirts and thus hasten the decay of the inner city areas while greatly increasing the demand for utilities in the new locations.

Moreover, the inner city areas rarely have enough locally-generated financial resources to invest in the basic utilities and services required by the permanent residents.

The reasons for the decline of inner city areas are not easy to pinpoint. It is not possible to single out a particular cause. Various urban models have revealed that our cities are fragile and complex socio-economic systems.

The social disparities existing in central urban areas have a cumulative effect; underemployment and unemployment increase the inequalities and mean that the already underprivileged fall still further behind. A whole series of interrelated negative factors begin to operate and they often lead to alienation and violence with, as a consequence, the exodus of those who can afford to leave and their replacement by new arrivals fascinated by the "big city".

Poor use of urban space, architecture ill-suited to contemporary needs, the separation of work and home, property speculation, the increase in agricultural output, the growth of communications and mass culture are all factors which contribute to the decline of our cities.

II. Solutions

The statements show that there are many ways in which the situation can be improved.

In general terms, one can say that firstly there exist measures to ensure public control over land use.

1. This can be physical:

    - the establishment of urban land reserves;
    - municipal ownership of land and of old and abandoned buildings;
    - physical and social planning or any other form of planning along the lines of what is being done in Portugal, the Netherlands or the United Kingdom.

2. Or, financial and economic:

    - taxing and control of land prices to prevent property speculation;
    - state and local grants towards the modernization and repair of old buildings;
    - public sector participation in development to make up for the shortcomings of the private sector, etc;
    - tax incentives to encourage proper upkeep.

3. It can also take the form of local initiatives in which the local groups concerned participate fully.

There is also a series of more direct measures for controlling and planning urbanization either by means of a voluntary policy for the revitalization of inner cities through:

- improvements (pedestrian precincts, slum clearance, modernization and restoration of old dwellings);
- provision of jobs for the residents through the promotion of industry;
- diversification of trading to preserve traditional activities;

- fixing of the population by housing grants and direct assistance to people wanting to move back;
- environmental protection;

or through a more balanced policy or urbanization which concentrates on outer city areas or even the creation of new urban centres (new towns).

Several of the contributions, among them those of the United Kingdom and Canada, presented a typology of the different kinds of inner city area development and aid policies.

But care must be taken to avoid considering only one aspect of the situation - the decay of city centres; the problems are just as urgent in the developing areas but to go into them would entail re-examining regional development policies as a whole.

III. Conclusions

Whatever the force and the scope of the measures adopted, and whether they come from the private or the public sector, they can only succeed if they form a coherent policy. The dilapidation of the inner city is actually the superficial manifestation of a much more general running down of traditional urban functions and institutions. Economic and social development hits hardest where it originates and our changing cities are a reflection of our changing societies just as the problems we have to face in inner city areas are the instant, physical materialization of the problems thrown up by our modern society. The Italian and United States contributions were particularly interesting because of their emphasis on the global aspect of urban and regional development and the way it is related to economic, social and technical progress as a whole.

The real challenge facing us is to achieve a physical and social environment which builds for the future while conserving all that is best from the past.

Résumé des conclusions

Un débat du CDSM sur le problème des centres villes est dans le droit fil des préoccupations du Comité et des pays membres.

Le CDSM a contribué à l'organisation aux Etats-Unis en 1971 d'une grande conférence sur les problèmes urbains avec la participation des maires des grandes villes des pays de l'OTAN. Il était devenu opportun de procéder à une évaluation des progrès réalisés depuis 1971 en matière de gestion et de technologie urbaine. D'autre part, le Comité scientifique de l'OTAN a eu l'occasion de promouvoir des recherches sur certains aspects du développement urbain : deux séminaires scientifiques furent organisés, l'un en 1975 sur la planification des systèmes de transports urbains, l'autre en 1977 sur les conséquences psychologiques et sociales de la surpopulation en milieu urbain.

I. La situation et ses causes

De l'ensemble des contributions on peut retenir les points suivants :

Une des premières interrogations est la finalité d'une politique de préservation des centres villes. Doit-on conserver ce que nous avons ou préparer le cadre de vie de l'avenir ? La question n'est pas sans importance. Les politiques d'action dépendent dans une large mesure du sens de la réponse.

Il apparaît d'autre part que la notion de centre ville est mal définie : ce mot couvre aussi bien le coeur historique des villes que les zones centrales d'affaire. Existe-t-il des similitudes entre le centre ville de Manchester par exemple, et celui de New York ? Parle-t-on du même type d'espace urbain quand on fait référence à Bologne et à Londres ? N'y a-t-il qu'un seul centre ville dans une agglomération comme Los Angeles ? Les limites spatiales des centres villes sont mal discernables.

Ceci dit, les centres villes restent un lieu de concentration des fonctions économiques, financières, politiques et culturelles. Les zones centrales possèdent des traits spécifiques : outre la concentration des fonctions déjà indiquées, on peut noter 1) une spécialisation très nette des fonctions commerciales, 2) une densité élevée de bureaux, 3) l'existence d'une forte population non résidente.

D'un autre côté, les centres des villes sont encore, de façon générale, une zone refuge pour une population résidente à faibles revenus, habitant des logements anciens et vétustes souvent mal desservie en services urbains collectifs.

Si toutes les zones centrales des villes ne connaissent pas la même dégradation de leur environnement physique et social, il n'en reste pas moins que la concentration des activités de service dans les centres villes impose un modèle spécifique de développement caractérisé par :

1. la disparition des habitations et commerces traditionnels au profit des superficies de bureaux;
2. l'aménagement de grandes voies d'accès (pénétrantes urbaines, autoroutes de dégagement, transport en site propre, parking de dissuasion, etc.) qui sont consommatrices d'espace urbain;
3. la mise en place d'infrastructure primaire (égouts, communications, chauffage ...) au détriment de services sociaux (zones vertes, écoles, services d'animation et de santé ...);
4. le déplacement de la population résidente permanente qui, ne trouvant pas à s'employer dans les centres villes, est peu à peu contrainte à émigrer vers la périphérie des agglomérations, accentuant ainsi le déclin des centres villes en même temps qu'elle exerce une forte demande de services dans les nouvelles zones d'habitation.

En outre, les finances locales des zones centrales sont généralement inadaptées et insuffisantes pour les besoins d'investissement à la fois en infrastructure primaire et en services pour la population permanente.

Les causes du déclin sont mal discernables. On ne peut pas privilégier une cause sur toutes les autres. Divers modèles urbains ont montré que nos villes sont des systèmes socio-économiques fragiles et complexes.

On retiendra que le déséquilibre social qui existe dans les centres villes, est de type cumulatif. Le sous-emploi ou le chômage accentuent les inégalités, privant les groupes déjà démunis de moyens pour enrayer le cycle du déclin. Un ensemble de facteurs négatifs est alors en place, agissant les uns sur les autres - et conduisant souvent à l'aliénation et à la violence, situation poussant à l'exode les groupes les moins pauvres vite remplacés par de nouveaux arrivants fascinés par les "Lumières de la ville".

Une mauvaise utilisation de l'espace urbain, une architecture inadaptée aux besoins contemporains, la ségrégation entre emploi et logement, la spéculation foncière, l'augmentation de la productivité agricole, l'extension des moyens de communication, la culture de masse, etc.. Certainement tous ces facteurs jouent un rôle dans le déclin des villes.

II. Les solutions

Plusieurs interventions offrent l'exemple d'une grande diversité de solutions d'amélioration.

En généralisant, on peut dire qu'il existe d'une part des mesures visant à assurer un contrôle de l'usage du sol par la collectivité.

Soit un contrôle physique :

- création de réserves foncières urbaines
- municipalisation des sols ou des logements anciens et abandonnés
- planification physique et sociale ou tout autre système de planification comme ceux mis en place au Portugal, aux Pays-Bas ou au Royaume-Uni.

Soit un contrôle financier et économique :

- taxation et contrôle des prix fonciers pour combattre la spéculation immobilière
- subventions publiques et locales à la rénovation et à l'entretien des immeubles anciens
- participation de la puissance publique dans le lancement d'opérations immobilières pour suppléer la défaillance du secteur privé, etc.
- incitations fiscales pour maintenir la qualité des habitations.

Soit par de nouvelles initiatives locales assurant une large participation des groupes locaux intéressés.

Il existe ensuite un ensemble de mesures plus directes pour orienter le développement urbain :

Soit par une politique volontariste de rénovation des centres :

- aménagement urbain (zones piétonnières, élimination des zones insalubres, rénovation et restauration des immeubles anciens)
- création d'emplois pour la population résidente par une politique d'incitation industrielle
- diversification des commerces pour maintenir sur place les activités traditionnelles

- maintien sur place de la population par une politique de subvention au logement et une aide directe pour la réinstallation

- protection de l'environnement.

Soit par une politique de rééquilibrage du développement urbain en favorisant les zones périphériques ou même en créant de nouveaux centres urbains. (Expérience des villes nouvelles.)

Plusieurs interventions, notamment celles du Royaume-Uni et du Canada, ont présenté sur l'ensemble de ces points une "typologie" des différentes formes du développement des centres villes et des politiques d'aide.

Il faut éviter, cependant, de limiter l'analyse du problème à un seul aspect, c'est-à-dire au déclin des centres villes. Les problèmes sont aussi pressants pour les zones en expansion, mais cela conduirait à réexaminer l'ensemble des politiques d'aménagement du territoire.

III. Dernières remarques

Quelles que soient l'étendue et l'intensité des mesures adoptées, leur nature publique ou privée, elles ne peuvent réussir que si elles forment une politique cohérente. L'ensemble des présentations concordent sur ce point : l'aménagement des centres villes ne peut réussir que par son intégration dans une approche plus large de l'aménagement urbain. La dégradation des centres villes est en vérité le phénomène superficiel d'un processus beaucoup plus large de déclin des institutions et fonctions urbaines traditionnelles. L'évolution économique et sociale frappe en plein les lieux même où elle prend place, et la ville change à mesure que notre société change. Les défis des centres villes sont l'image immédiate et physique des défis de notre société moderne. Les présentations faites par l'Italie et les Etats-Unis semblent extrêmement utiles par l'importance qu'elles donnent à l'aspect global du développement urbain et régional et à ses relations avec l'ensemble de la croissance économique, technique et sociale.

Ce qui est véritablement en cause, c'est notre capacité à organiser notre environnement physique et social en conservant le meilleur du passé tout en construisant l'avenir.

PART II

PREPARED STATEMENTS BY MEMBER COUNTRIES

Note: Statements are in the original language in which they were presented

PARTIE II

PRESENTATIONS DES PAYS MEMBRES

Note: Les présentations suivantes sont dans la langue originale dans laquelle elles ont été soumises

POLITIQUE D'AMENAGEMENT DES CENTRES VILLES EN WALLONIE ET A BRUXELLES

par le Professeur P. Dulieu, Belgique

A. Le problème

1. L'origine des problèmes d'aménagement du centre ville doit être trouvée dans le fait que les différentes fonctions, qui sont compétitives pour l'emploi du sol urbain, n'ont cessé de requérir des espaces de plus en plus grands. Cette évolution est liée, d'une part, au transfert progressif d'emplois vers le secteur tertiaire et, d'autre part, à l'amélioration du revenu de la population.

2. Sur le territoire urbain certaines localisations sont plus intéressantes que d'autres. Au point de départ du processus, les endroits recherchés se trouvent au centre ville ou à proximité immédiate de celui-ci. On voit alors les activités les plus fortes éliminer les plus faibles, notamment l'habitat, le petit commerce, ainsi que tout un environnement qualitatif.

Par la suite, à la faveur de travaux routiers importants, de nombreux sites en périphérie sont devenus attractifs, non seulement pour l'habitat, mais également pour les autres fonctions. A ce moment, certaines activités qui ont occupé des emplacements importants au centre ville abandonnent ce dernier, y créant des vides qui se comblent très difficilement.

3. Cette évolution est ressentie comme néfaste sur plusieurs plans. Par conséquent, les autorités publiques s'efforcent tantôt de la contrarier, tantôt de la contrôler.

B. La politique

1. On peut distinguer 2 axes dans les politiques suivies selon qu'elles ont pour objectif principal d'adapter le centre ville ou de le protéger.

2. Les politiques d'adaptation partent de la conviction qu'il faut permettre au centre ville de remplir les fonctions directrices au niveau régional.

Elles visent dès lors à aménager les voiries et l'occupation de l'espace de manière à concentrer les activités administratives commerciales et culturelles principales.

Fréquemment des programmes de logements accompagnent cette politique de transformation fonctionnelle du centre.

Compte tenu de la densité de constructions nouvelles et du volume des travaux d'infrastructure requis, la mise à nu du terrain et le transfert des populations et des activités existantes sont un préalable nécessaire.

Le coût pour la collectivité d'une telle politique est généralement très élevé mais, dans certaines circonstances économiques favorables, une partie peut être prise en charge par le facteur privé. C'est ainsi que tout le quartier de Bruxelles situé entre le Berlaimont et l'avenue des Arts a fait l'objet d'une mutation fondamentale, essentiellement à l'initiative des promoteurs immobiliers.

3. L'objectif de protection du centre a généralement été formulé au vu des effets dommageables que la politique présente sur trois points :

- au plan social : paupérisation rapide des quartiers en mutation, exode des habitants, etc.
- au plan de l'environnement : disparition d'éléments de valeur du patrimoine ancien et perte d'intérêt pour l'habitat urbain
- au plan de la culture urbaine : disparition des valeurs collectives présentées par la ville ancienne.

4. L'importance prise au cours des dernières années par l'objectif de protection est liée à trois facteurs importants :

- le retournement de la conjoncture économique qui a entraîné l'abandon d'opérations de rénovation trop ambitieuses
- la prise de conscience sociale marquée par l'apparition de nombreux groupes de défense de l'environnement
- l'évolution politique qui a conduit en Belgique à la régionalisation.

5. Actuellement, on peut considérer qu'à des degrés divers, ces deux politiques sont poursuivies conjointement.

A Bruxelles, les travaux d'aménagement routier (contournement et pénétration) s'achèvent, permettant à la dynamique de la transformation urbaine de se poursuivre, tandis que dans certains quartiers du centre (les Marolles) des opérations de réhabilitation sont lancées.

A charleroi, la construction d'un ring autoroutier de 6 km à sens unique autour du centre a permis de dégager les artères de ce dernier. La construction du métro se poursuit activement.

Mais dans un quartier contigu du centre (Jumet) a été lancée, il y a deux ans, une opération pilote de réhabilitation de l'habitat.

A Liège, des travaux routiers importants combinés, au centre ville, avec la création d'une gare de transports en commun, a pour but d'adapter le réseau urbain aux nécessités de la circulation moderne. Certains îlots font par ailleurs l'objet de mesures de réhabilitation et de rénovation.

Dans certaines villes de plus petites dimensions (Namur, Tournai, Mons, Arlon) le poids de la réhabilitation de quartiers anciens au centre ville paraît plus important, proportionnellement.

C. La politique de protection du centre ville et ses difficultés

1. Compte tenu de l'importance des problèmes de protection du centre qui se posaient, une politique spécifique a été mise en oeuvre depuis quelques années.

Elle repose sur les structures suivantes :

- La responsabilité générale de la politique urbaine est attribuée à un Ministre à compétence régionale.
- Elle a, d'autre part, un caractère interdépartemental : les dossiers sont examinés par une commission régionale de rénovation où siègent les représentants de tous les départements intéressés.
- Elle repose sur l'initiative communale : il n'existe aucune opération d'aménagement urbain menée à l'initiative de l'Etat ou de la Province.
- D'importants subsides sont inscrits au budget du Ministre des travaux publics (administration des travaux subsidiés) pour aider les communes dans leurs opérations.

En principe, ces subsides sont de l'ordre de 75 %.

2. La politique actuellement suivie dans la région wallonne présente les caractéristiques suivantes :

- elle vise à réhabiliter les immeubles existants et accessoirement seulement à construire du neuf;
- l'objectif est le logement (les travaux visant des administrations et des commerces ne sont pas subsidiés) et plus précisément le logement social (qui doit atteindre 75 % du total);

- les opérations doivent se dérouler sur des propriétés communales : autrement dit, avant de réhabiliter des logements, la commune doit acquérir le fonds.

3. Cette politique est complétée par certaines dispositions visant à favoriser la modernisation des logements par les propriétaires privés, soit qu'ils habitent leur immeuble, soit qu'ils le donnent en location.

Toutefois, à la différence des opérations menées à l'initiative du pouvoir communal, les aides aux particuliers ne sont pas circonscrites dans un périmètre donné.

D. Appréciation

Actuellement, la politique d'adaptation des centres villes connaît un freinage relatif. En effet, d'une part, les aménagements essentiels ont été réalisés (notamment le contournement des agglomérations) et, d'autre part, une révision profonde des conceptions est intervenue. La prise de conscience a conduit à réduire les programmes de travaux urbains.

Par contre, les politiques de protection du centre ville n'ont pas encore donné de très grands résultats.

On s'aperçoit, en effet, qu'il est très difficile de les mettre en oeuvre en raison, soit des rigidités administratives, soit de l'absence de législation adequate.

On mesure également que l'initiative publique visant à la réhabilitation des centres doit être relayée par l'initiative privée.

Les mesures prises en ce sens ne sont pas encore suffisantes. Toutefois, on observe que l'initiative publique, dans la mesure où elle annonce une réorientation fondamentale de la politique urbaine et s'accompagne de mesures aptes à lutter contre la spéculation foncière a un effet d'entraînement non négligeable dont on peut déjà voir des résultats dans les villes où elle s'est manifestée.

SHORT NOTE ON URBAN RENEWAL POLICY IN FLANDERS

by Prof.Dr. M. Anselin, Belgium

1. Historical Introduction

Flanders has been the first region on the European continent where already at the end of the eighteenth century an early industrialization has taken place, namely with the linen and cotton industry in Ghent.

During the Napoleonic period the port of Antwerp was stimulated as a military base ("the pistol directed on England").

These two medieval towns grew out to cities: they attracted people from the country, but their town-structure remained quite traditional. Factories and housing units were constructed one beside another. The later industrialization of smaller towns in the countryside took the same way: housing and industry mixed up in complete disorder.

The population drought to the towns was slackened when at the end of the nineteenth century (1869 and 1896) very cheap pass tickets were introduced for industrial workers on the Belgian railways. Those no longer migrated to the industrial towns, but started commuting daily between a rural region and their work in industry.

This suburbanization along railway lines took a vast situation when during the last decades of the nineteenth century a second network of rural railways on small track-width was constructed, giving every village, even the smallest one, an easy accessibility to the industrial towns and cities.

Around 1900 the ideas of Haussmann penetrated Belgium and in some bigger cities like Antwerp and Ghent some big boulevards were constructed, older parts of the town were pulled down and replaced by business and/or bourgeois buildings along new wide streets.

The housing of the majority of the industrial workers got practically no attention.

After the First World War a more social minded policy was developed: obligation on primary instruction, regulations on working times, social housing etc.

State subsidised non-profit corporations started the construction of groups of dwellings for lower income workers: these projects were located on waste land in different parts of the cities, or on rural land near railway connections.

Subsidising by the State went also to individuals who let construct a modest dwelling with a patch of land to cultivate vegetables and some small domestic animals, in the country.

The interest of the policy-makers went more to construction of new buildings and the urbanization of suburban land.

The old estates were still occupied by dwellers or by other activities.

After World War II a double evolution took place. First of all suburbanization was still enforced by the motorization of the people and by the supply of all rural regions with modern equipment like electricity, water, etc.

Commuting in Belgium has reached a peak: of the 3,336,163 economic-active people of Belgium (1970) some 1,585,719 are commuters (47.5%). Where in 1896 Brussels attracted every day 11,000 commuters, in 1970 it attracted already 246,000 persons from all over the country.

A second fact concerns the town planning policy of the local authorities. The slowly emptying older parts of the cities were thrown down and partly filled up with office buildings. In some places a small number of social housing blocks were erected. But this policy of the bulldozer was not systematic; well-defined planning was unknown.

In the meantime, suburbanization drew a number of new commercial activities to the suburbs: stores and even shopping centres. Dwellings in the town centres left by the former dwellers were partly occupied by immigrants.

At the end of the 1960s, town centres showed a very disorganized structure: huge, modern office buildings, older dwellings in decay, shopping streets losing gradually their commercial attraction.

At that moment urban policy makers at local and central government level became aware that a renewal of their policy was necessary.

From the middle of the 1970s the Flemish regional council has been interested in a new policy concerning town centre renewal.

Since 1974 urban and regional planning policy is a matter that concerns no more national government, but regional minister committees.

2. The New Urban Renewal Policy in Flanders

1. Basic Principles

The new policy concerning urban renewal was based on the following principles (1975):

(a) All initiatives must be centred on "people". The equilibrium between man and environment should be restored. Special attention should be given to:

- children and youngsters in the town;
- the family, as the smallest social unit;
- lonely and elderly people.

(b) Local authorities must take over the policy, as they are nearest to the people.

Help of all kinds must go to local authorities.

(c) Emphasis must be laid on "renewal" and "adaptation"; no more demolition.

(d) A new kind of land policy must be set up.

(e) New ideas must be found in social housing, for small industries, for public buildings, for traffic in the town centres.

(f) Existing budgetary provisions must be reorganized and newly created.

2. Means for the Action (1975)

As the regional authority is, by the law, the tutor of the local authorities in matters of town planning, the regional council must set up a combined system of legislative, administrative and financial means for the realization of urban renewal policy.

The new town planning procedures will be discussed under 3.

The most important instrument will be the "structure plan".

(a) To be sure that such a plan can be brought to reality, it will be necessary to co-ordinate actions of all concerned public services: therefore the institution is proposed of a "Flemish co-ordination Commission for City Centre renewal" on regional level. This Commission should programme the realization of a structure plan, co-ordinate all interventions of different government offices and control action.

(b) Budgetary Provisions

As was already said, the existing financial interventions by all kinds of public offices would be reorganized, adapted to the new urban renewal policy, and eventually extended.

This is an essential condition in matters of expropriation, of restoration (instead of demolition), of collaboration between the local authority and private owners, etc.

(c) On local level some suggestions for new action

(i) local working groups for city centre renewal;

(ii) local land administrations, with a rolling fund;

(iii) campaigns for information to the public and actions for the accompanying of urban renewal operations.

3. Town Planning Procedure (1976)

The former State Secretary on Town and Country Planning for Flanders suggested the following town planning procedure for urban renewal:

(a) Decision by the local council to renew a part of the city.

(b) Demand by the local authority to the State Secretary for town and country planning, for a principle agreement to set up a structure plan for the concerned quarter.

(c) Agreement by the State Secretary.

(d) Constitution of a local working group for urban centre renewal, with different representative persons.

(e) Setting-up of a planning team for the structure plan.

(f) The structure plan is drawn, the local working group is active as a steering group.

(g) Information and participation of the concerned population take place according to the actual townplanning law.

(h) Definitive approval of the structure plan by the local council.

(i) The dossier is transmitted to the Regional Advice Committee and then arrives to the State Secretary on Planning. He asked for an advice by the Co-ordination Commission, and then decides.

(j) The bundle is then transmitted to the Commission for execution.

4. What is "Structure Plan" (1976)

According to the State Secretary on Town and Country Planning a structure plan for urban renewal contains the following documents:

(a) A circumspect plan of the town or village with the delimitation of the zone(s) suitable for urban renewal.

(b) Three plans with the actual situation:

  (i) one plan giving land ownership;

  (ii) one plan giving actual land-use and traffic streams;

  (iii) a plan(s) with the exact delimitation of the zone(s) for action by urban renewal.

(c) A plan with the proposed structure:

  (i) a plan with all zones for renewal and changements in land use, in streets, etc;

  (ii) a legenda giving all criteria for land use and land occupation.

(d) An extensive paper giving:

  (i) a general introduction on e.g. criteria of proposed land use;

  (ii) a description (inluding an estimation) of all proposed works on public estate;

(iii) instructions for the prevention of further urban decline;

(iv) a scheme of priorities.

3. Actual Situation

The suggestions of the former State Secretary are not yet transposed in a law. But two important facts are worth mentioning:

(1) A very small number of local authorities are already trying to realize the procedure of structure planning for urban centre renewal within the limitations and possibilities of the existing law. This goes parallel to a mental changing in Flanders in the matters of town and country planning:

- stress on dynamic structure planning;
- more participation by the concerned people during the planning process;
- more attention for the livability of the towns by changing traffic structure and limiting further suburbanization.

A lot must still be done to convince most local politicians, but the ideas are already widespread.

(2) The restructuring of the (social) housing code has been decided by the regional minister committee for Flanders (1978).

A number of adaptations are necessary to give the code the potential for realizing or collaboration in the new urban renewal policy. The task of making dwellings in Flanders suitable to actual standards seems to be immense: 1,776,000 dwellings in Flanders are considered insalubrious. Some 430,000 of these can be improved, but 238,000 (13.8% of all dwellings) are quoted as slums, and should be thrown down and replaced by new buildings.

4. Conclusion

It will be an important problem to use the improval of the dwelling stock as a means to improve the structure of towns, cities and villages in Flanders. But practically all must still be done to fix the policy.

CANADIAN INNER CITIES: PROBLEMS AND RESPONSE

Ministry of State - Urban Affairs Canada

INNER CITY PROCESSES

Viewed broadly, statistical data reveal the following general characteristics of Canadian inner cities: the inner city population is older, poorer, less educated, more often unemployed, more mixed ethnically, and composed of smaller households (and thus probably fewer families) than the suburban population. The inner city housing stock, when compared to the suburbs tends to be apartments rather than single family houses, with smaller dwelling units, cheaper rents and a greater proportion of tenants.

Many of the characteristics of inner cities discussed above could be viewed as symptoms of decline, and some of them indeed are. It is important to realize, however, that these are broad generalizations - the characteristics of many different kinds of neighbourhoods are averaged together to arrive at these conclusions. These generalizations are important in terms of providing a framework for research and policy formulation on the inner city. They establish that inner cities in Canada differ in important ways from the suburbs, and that they exhibit problems which urgently require a specific form of government attention. But as yet they are much too gross to guide government policies for the inner city.

When viewed at closer range, the inner parts of Canadian cities are not homogeneous. Investigation suggests that there are four types of inner city each characterized by a process: areas of decline, stability, revitalization and massive redevelopment. Each of these vary not only in physical realities but in social and economic ones as well.

Declining areas are those inner city districts which may be found in any large Canadian city which show the symptoms of a "culture of poverty". Old and deteriorating and uncared for housing; serious social problems; signs of human despair and suffering; and pockets of crowding. Some of these conditions are intensified when they occur within urban regions having relatively weak economies.

A process of decline can be triggered or influenced by several factors. There is no single cause of neighbourhood decline, nor is there a single evolutionary process which every declining neighbourhood follows. The most important factors which seem to be related to decline are now dealt with.

A weak regional economy, coupled with a slow growth rate and a process of suburbanization can affect large parts of the inner city. As middle-income families, stores and industries move to suburbs, there is too little demand for inner city space to fill the gap. Areas become more and more populated by the lowest income groups, and commercial vacancies increase. There are no major new functions seeking a location in the inner city, which consequently loses its place as the focal point of the urban region. There are few reasons to go there or live there, if one has a choice.

Some inner city areas were developed decades ago as working class neighbourhoods. they were generally built for industrial workers. The housing was of poor original construction, and few major improvements have been effected since. Environmental amenities and neighbourhood facilities are practically non-existent. They continue to provide living space for the poor, but they attract neither new residents nor new investment. Present residents can afford only low rents, so there is little scope for proprietors to maintain their properties. Further, the industrial base on which these communities were created is declining as some industries move to the suburbs.

Still other neighbourhoods deteriorate rapidly because of a public or private threat of redevelopment. The threat of urban renewal, a highway, or large private developments hanging over a neighbourhood for years often produces a reluctance on the part of owners to invest in their properties and an exodus of mobile families. Or, the investor (private or public) buys the properties and allows them to deteriorate. Such a process can go on for years until redevelopment takes place or the project is cancelled.

Finally, there is the classic "transitional" area, present in virtually all cities. It is usually located near a major non-residential use, such as a port or an old industrial complex. The residential function has been eroded over the years, and in recent times industries have moved out. This process leaves a mixture of incompatible land uses - industry, warehousing, truck terminals, residential pockets, and considerable vacant or underused land. The future of such areas is unclear, offering no motivation for maintenance or new investment.

The old urban renewal program was conceived with declining areas in mind, and in moving away from the old approach we tend to forget that Canadian cities do contain such neighbourhoods. This does not mean that we have to repeat the errors made with urban renewal, but it does imply that the current approach of strengthening an already viable neighbourhood may not be applicable everywhere. Generally speaking, what are classified as declining areas are caught in a cycle which can only be broken by strong public action. However, in those areas which are still predominately residential, this public acion must be carefully planned. Neighbourhood change is a long, slow process. Too rapid and drastic a change inevitably produces serious social problems. Badly declining areas also have a social order which, if not respected, disintegrates to the detriment of all concerned. Nevertheless, in declining areas there is a need to stimulate social change, new development, and the integration of new functions rather than just protecting and improving what exists.

Stability is used to apply to areas which have become relatively stable, physically and socially, because of a function which the area continues to serve. Physical deterioration and social pathologies are not severe and pressure for redevelopment is characteristically low.

There is often strong attachment to such areas on the part of solidly established communities for example:

(a) traditional low and moderate income communities (Hochelaga in Montreal, and South Riverdale in Toronto),

(b) older ethnic communities (Strathcona in Vancouver, and North Point Douglas in Winnipeg),

(c) receiving areas for recent immigrants, where turnover may be high but the same kind of people continue to inhabit the area (Kensington Market area in Toronto),

(d) neighbourhoods with a strong middle-income component (The Glebe in Ottawa, the Annex in Toronto, and West Point Grey in Vancouver),

(e) upper income enclaves (Westmount in Montreal).

Revitalizing areas the third type of inner city, are in a process of change. As a rather recent phenomenon, a significant influx of middle-income people into previously low or moderate-income areas has been observed. The newcomers buy, rehabilitate and occupy existing houses. Or, private firms buy and rehabilitate the old houses and sell them to affluent families. Though no data are available on the magnitude of this trend, it is perceived as a serious problem in some large, rapidly-growing cities. In Toronto it has been given the name of "whitepainting", and appears to be concentrated in certain neigbhourhoods.

Like stable areas, areas subject to revitalization have a sound housing stock. In addition, the houses normally are or can be made attractive architecturally, and sometimes have historic value. There is at least a core of environmental amenities, and the area offers convenient access to facilities and services of the central business district. There has to be a reasonable expectation that the neighbourhood can avoid redevelopment.

Further, revitalization seems to occur only in rapidly-growing cities where demand for housing is strong and where there is a large professional class with high incomes. A few families begin the process, which then feeds on itself as more and more are attracted.

This trend represents private investment in the housing stock and prevents deterioration of inner city neighbourhoods, both desirable objectives. With the influx of a more sophisticated population, stronger residents' groups result assuring that the area will be protected from drastic change. But it displaces low and moderate-income people and may destroy existing communities. Housing prices are forced up rapidly, making it difficult to maintain or provide low-cost accommodation. And attaining the objectives of public programs designed to aid low-income people becomes problematic.

Massive redevelopment areas, the fourth type of inner city, are being drastically altered by public and private investment. Some of the characteristics of massive redevelopment areas are as follows:

- a gain in population, but a loss of most family units and (except where subsidized housing is included) low-income people, leaving a preponderance of singles, young couples, and the elderly;
- an increase in the average income, educational and occupational levels;

- an improvement in housing conditions for those who move in, but often a decline for those forced out; older housing deteriorates while awaiting redevelopment; the original community is usually destroyed;
- sometimes an improvement in environmental quality, but also the possiblity of congestion, incapacity of services to meet new needs, etc.;
- a complete shift to tenancy (except in the case of condominiums);
- a decline in the strength and activities of community organizations;
- increasing housing and land costs.

The massive redevelopment process occurs most frequently in cities with a rapid growth rate and thus a high demand for apartments and office space. Within these parameters, the likelihood that a neighbourhood will undergo redevelopment to higher densities seems to be influenced by:

(a) the character and quality of the existing building stock;
(b) degree of access to the central business district;
(c) existence of neighbourhood amenities;
(d) high-density zoning;
(e) degree of citizen reaction to threats of redevelopment;
(f) ease with which land can be assembled (size of lots, small vs large landholders, etc.).

This is a large set of factors, and the manner in which they interact to trigger the redevelopment process is largely unique to each area. As in the other types, no single process can be described which applies to all cases. A further point is that the first high-density developments in an area tend to attract others. Once started in a given neighbourhood, the process tends to feed on itself.

Massive redevelopment in its present form produces housing with good access to the central business district for an increasingly important segment of the urban population - singles, young couples, other non-family households, the elderly. It also, of course, results in needed commercial and office space. But when large sections of the inner city are under pressure for redevelopment, viable older residential areas are often destroyed and certain uses which cannot cope with increasing costs are squeezed out. Relocation of lower-income families becomes a major problem, often tirggering a process of decline when they move in large numbers to another part of the city. Poor planning sometimes results in congestion, insufficient services, and serious environmental problems.

These negative consequences are not inevitable. It should be possible to plan and locate high-density redevelopment so that these problems are minimized.

POLICY APPROACHES

In Canada, there are several inner cities. Each represents a different set of problems, potentials and people's needs. Physical and social problems interlock with poverty in areas of decline. Stable areas represent the continued existence of long established residential communities which, though not by any means affluent, have within themselves the personal and social resources for survival as communities. Revitalizing areas are the "benefactors" as in migration of new groups of people with different incomes and outlooks from the earlier blue collar inhabitants. And in those parts of the city where large scale redevelopment is the role, there is a need for better planning to create a viable human as well as physical environment.

Given this variety of inner city conditions, standardized approaches should be avoided. Programs must allow each area to reach its full potential. This implies preserving low-density family housing areas, protecting immigrant and working-class neighbourhoods, and accommodating private rehabilitation (or whitepainting) while controlling its impact on lower-income people. It also requires the provision of space for expansion of the central business district, development of high density housing for households without children, and recognition of the fact that some inner city areas are experiencing serious decline and do not lend themselves to the "soft" approach of the new programs. This may all sound like "having your cake and eating it too". But the problem of accommodating all these diverse functions in the inner city can be solved through recognizing and dealing with the unique potential of each subarea.

The thrust of policies and programs designed for declining areas should be to stimulate change and improvement by channelling new capital, users, residents and functions into such areas, with the benefit of the resident population as the primary criterion. In declining areas, it is not enough to protect and strengthen the existing elements of the community. There is too little capital for investment in the neighbourhood, too few activities which generate local economic advancement, and too few residents with organizational skills. But it is essential that new functions and activities introduced into the area be of the sort which will generate significant beneficial effects (e.g., revenue, services, housing) for the present residents.

The policy-program thrust in stable areas should be to protect, strengthen and improve the residential character and population mix. External threats to stable areas often exist - an expanding central business district, plans to introduce land uses incompatible with the residential function, etc. Thus the emphasis is on protecting the area from undesirable intrusions, including government actions which are too dramatic and imply too rapid a change. Though stable areas are not experiencing serious internal problems, there is a need to assure a continued smooth evolution by facilitating investment in the present housing stock and providing social services.

The policy thrust for revitalizing areas should be to moderate the rise in housing prices and the rate at which the lower income population is displaced, as well as strengthen the residential character of such areas. It is neither possible nor desirable to stop completely the influx of middle-income home owners into revitalizing areas. But steps can be taken to moderate the trend and conserve a significant portion of the housing stock for lower and moderate income residents.

The thrust of policies and program in areas of massive redevelopment should be to control, more effectively, the process of large scale redevelopment, through channelling high density development into preferred locations, protection for certain lower-density uses, and provision for the needs of both the displaced and new populations. It is not feasible (and often not desirable) to attempt to stop the process of massive redevelopment when it is already well underway. This process is necessary to provide space for new and expanding central city functions. But steps can be taken to minimize its deleterious effects and exert more public control over the future form of redeveloping areas.

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENTS

In Canada, responsibility for municipalities and matters of local concern rests with provincial and municipal governments. It is at this level, and appropriately so, that the objectives for inner city areas must be identified, and policy approaches developed. The Federal government, in carrying out its responsibilities, can and does affect the quality of life in Canadian cities. The role of the Federal government is hence one of ensuring that its activities are beneficial to urban areas and that federal initiatives take into account provincial and local objectives and plans. This role is carried out by a Federal Ministry of State for Urban Affairs in two ways:

1) identifying where and how federal programs can be modified to better support provincial and municipal objectives; and
2) cooperating with the provinces so that they are aware of federal concerns which can be incorporated in provincial and municipal planning and programming.

The Ministry, which has no direct program implementation function, is perhaps a unique Canadian approach to coordinating and focusing federal activities to support varying local circumstances and priorities. Recognition of the potential benefits to be realized from using the resources of the Federal government has led to the development of the concept of Federal urban support packages. This concept involves the identification and combining or "packaging" a number of normally discrete or separate federal government activities or programs into a coordinated undertaking in support of local or provincially developed plans and priorities. Some of these activities which bear upon inner cities deserve particular attention.

The Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) and Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP), administered by the federal Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, was a result of the growing objections to the "bulldozer approach" of urban renewal, and increasing sympathy towards conservation, rehabilitation and citizen involvement in community planning. Under NIP, assistance is available to municipalities for planning, land acquisition, community facilities, moderate and low-income housing. RRAP which operates closely with NIP, families may obtain assistance to restore their homes to acceptable standards of health and safety. The NIP and RRAP programs, which call for community involvement, are most effective in stable areas. Application of the program to revitalizing areas cannot stop the influx of middle income families and hence may not achieve its objective of benefitting low and moderate income groups.

The Federal government exercises little direct control of land, except crown lands. Elsewhere, the control of land and its use rests with the provinces and through them with municipalities. Nevertheless, the Federal government is a major land owner in Canadian cities. Much of this land is used for ports and harbours, railways and canals. The diminishing importance of these activities in the inner city provides opportunities for the redevelopment of these sites. The government is committed to a policy of Federal land management that will contribute to the improvement of the inner city environment and the achievement of provincial and local plans. Under the policy, an administrative procedure has been established whereby, on a case by case basis as the aquisition, disposal or long term reuse of federal property is considered, wider social, economic, or environmental objectives may be introduced as criteria to be considered in decision-making. In addition to this procedure, the Federal government has, as a part of the policy, introduced provisions for the regular review of federal property holdings by the Department of Public Works in urban areas to determine whether they might be put to better use in light of evolving local circumstances and plans.

The Federal governments accommodation program requires considerable amounts of office space. Office space may be owned outright or leased from the private sector. The heights and densities to which government builds (or leases) office accommodation may have an important impact on the physical characteristics of cities. The pedestrian spaces, other amenities and various uses which are incorporated into such projects influence the quality of the urban environment and perhaps also private development practices. There is an impact on the demand for, and use of transportation facilities. The locations chosen may help to determine where growth occurs and certainly affect the demand for housing in, for instance, the downtown versus suburban areas. The accommodation decisions of government can thus be strategically employed to bring about such changes, once objectives are agreed upon and their catalytic potential has been recognized. Forecasts of growth in accommodation needs will provide important information for this.

Industrial incentive grants administered by the Federal Department of Regional Economic Expansion and the decentralization of Federal government employment are used as a means of strengthening the economic base of lagging regions and communities.

The Ministry of State for Urban Affairs is currently examining the concept of "sensitive infill" as a means of using small tracts of vacant land efficiently and hence easing development pressures on the urban periphery, and increasing the residential density of the inner city while protecting the character of existing communities.

The federal Ministry of Transport administers an Urban Transportation Assistance Program which provides assistance for the capital costs of improvements to urban public transport systems. In addition to the programs objective to increasing the efficiency and attractiveness of public transport, it also improves urban environmental standards and land use efficiency in inner city areas which are most affected by the disbenefits of the private automobile.

The Federal Department of the Environment works in cooperation with provincial authorities to ensure uniformity of environmental standards in all parts of Canada including inner cities. To achieve part of this objective, national emission and effluent regulations and guidelines are being or have been developed for various industrial sectors and regulations have been implemented for the control of hazardous pollutants such as mercury. The Department has also set up a national pollution surveillance network to monitor air quality in urban areas. Since 1972, the Department has been involved in a comprehensive testing program to ensure the new cars are in compliance with current emission control regulations passed under the Motor Vehicles Safety Act.

The Department acts in a consultative capacity to the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation which provides funds to municipalities for the construction of sewage systems and treatment facilities. It is also in the process of setting up a program which will provide incentives to organizations including municipalities to develop new technology in the field of resource conservation.

PROSPECTS AND MEANS OF INNER CITY REVITALIZATION IN COPENHAGEN

by K. Lemberg, Denmark

Like other cities in NATO member countries the Inner City Areas of Copenhagen have experienced a number of problems concerning economic situation, social conditions and physical environment, since they were, practically spoken, fully built-up about 1950. By then the City of Copenhagen reached 770.000 inhabitants; but after 28 years of subsequent population decline the number of inhabitants is now some 530.000. Every year the net loss of inhabitants is about 15.000. During the same period the number of work places has declined from 427.000 in 1945 to 400.000 in 1970 (after a maximum of 465.000 in 1960).

One aspect of this development is the rationalization and higher productivity in trades and industry and the increasing material standards of living during the unprecedented economic growth after the Second World War, and especially in the 1960s. These trends are reflected in higher numbers of square meters pr. inhabitant in dwellings and pr. employed person in trades and industries, etc. So, direct moving out of certain factories, offices and shops and clearance of slum housing and other demolition is only a minor part of the explanation.

However, in certain areas, especially with old an obsolete tenement houses from the last century, the decline in population and number of work places has been accompained by a deterioration of the physical environment including bad maintenance of houses, empty houses waiting for slum clearance or for industrial or commercial renewal, increased noise, pollution and danger from traffic, concentration of low-income population including some social losers in certain districts, a certain (but still limited) increase in delinquency and vandalism. Beyond certain limits this process is self-reinforcing.

In the central city area (Central Business District) social and socio-psychological problems are considerable less, while some economic problems for the traditional central city trades are increasing, because more people are buying even rather specialized goods in new commercial centres in the outer parts of the region, and because assessibility in the central city has deteriorated.

Generally, these problems may be less in Copenhagen than in many larger metropolitan areas; but increasingly they have become important issues in town planning.

Some plans and instruments to improve the situation by revitalization programs in Copenhagen are the following:

For the central city area (CBD):

a) Since the main commercial shopping street in Copenhagen "Strøget" was pedestrianized in 1962, a further program of pedestrian streets, parking restrictions and other motor vehicle restrictions has been carried through with remarkable results in improved conditions for pedestrians, cyclists and buses This policy was met with protests from shopkeepers and others when started, but has for long been popular within all commercial circles, etc.

Details are available in my paper for OECD on "Pedestrian Streets and Other Motor Vehicle Traffic Restraints in Central Copenhagen" (1973).

b) A fundamentally improved situation for public transport as compared to car driving would result from the construction of a few underground lines, one in the central city area supplementing an existing line along the western fringe of the central area, another line connecting the southern Amager part of Copenhagen with the northwest areas of Nørrebro, etc. Opposition in the Parliament from provincial representatives, from environmentalists opposing large scale infrastructure investment, and financial tightening have stopped these plans; but they are still at issue.

c) An organization of industrial, commercial, organizational and other interests in the central area, "Københavns City Center", has carried through a remarkable initiative in analyzing facts and trends in the area and presenting ideas and sketches on a better future use of the central city - illustrated by concrete proposals for some chosen blocks.

Detailed information is given in 3 reports. The whole work was privately organized and financed.

For the densely built up residential inner city areas (Downtown)

d) Since 1969 laws on slum clearance have considerably improved the possibilities for carrying through comprehensive plans for slum clearance and reconstruction.

The first approach to urban renewal in the slum districts and obsolete blocks in Inner Nørrebro and Vesterbro was based on the idea of total clearances of the worst residential blocks (with some backyard workshops, etc.), centrally planned and executed, with subsequent large-scale new housing construction.

Later on, more emphasis has been put upon a more differentiated renewal policy with modest modernization of a number of flats and total clearances mostly concentrated to sidehouses, backhouses and the worst front houses. At the same time, more efforts are used to make courtyards usable for children and adults, clearing away lavatories, sheds, fences and small buildings. This new policy includes more and earlier information to inhabitants and possibilities for alternative solutions.

POLITIQUE D'AMENAGEMENT DES CENTRES VILLES EN FRANCE

par M. L. Chabason, France

Les centres villes sont parfaitement délimités géographiquement. Ces centres ont été jusqu'à nos jours des lieux privilégiés de rassemblement. L'accroissement des surfaces nécessaires aux activités artisanales ou industrielles, la recherche d'un habitat contemporain et la faiblesse des investissements consacrés à la valorisation des urbanisations existantes ont été des facteurs importants de paupérisation des centres des villes anciennes.

I. CARACTERISTIQUES DES CENTRES ANCIENS

Les centres des villes se caractérisent par des données physiques, économiques et sociales.

1.1 L'aspect physique est marqué par :

1.1.1 Un caractère historique. Les mesures de protection ou de mise en valeur prises en faveur des centres historiques tendent à préserver un type d'habitat en harmonisant l'ensemble des constructions à un style déterminé.

1.1.2 Un caractère résidentiel avec un habitat continu dominé par le minéral. L'habitat en coeur de ville était abrité des intempéries. Il constitue un décor urbain homogène et particulièrement identifiable.

1.1.3 Un caractère de rue. En effet, la rue est tout à la fois le lieu de circulation pour les voitures, de déplacement pour les piétons, de desserte pour les marchandises, de rencontre, de vente, de conversation et de distraction.

1.2 Les données économiques évoluent et la plupart des constructions occupées ont été conçues pour remplir des fonctions autres que celles existantes. En particulier :

1.2.1 Les magasins sont d'une superficie plus importante qu'il y a vingt ans et plus ouverts sur la rue. Certains types de commerces, notamment les commerces d'objets volumineux, n'ont pas pu trouver place dans les centres anciens.

1.2.2 L'artisanat ayant pris un caractère semi-industriel et exigeant de grandes superficies de bureaux et d'ateliers a presque entièrement disparu des centres villes.

1.2.3 Les logements en location sont souvent vétustes et peu entretenus et ceci en raison de loyers faibles qui ne permettent pas auxpropriétaires d'engager des dépenses importantes.

1.3 Les composantes sociales sont particulièrement complexes et déterminantes. En effet :

1.3.1 L'animation diurne est une résultante essentiellement commerciale. La convergence des populations périphériques et intra-muros vers les centres assure une animation attrayante. La présence de locaux non commerciaux crée parfois des discontinuités dans cette animation.

1.3.2 Les marchés constituent des rassemblements dont la fonction est complémentaire de l'animation quotidienne et anormale.

1.3.3 Les commerçants qui vivent sur place ont un logement de proximité qui leur permet d'assurer l'ouverture des magasins à des heures matinales et leur fermeture à des heures tardives.

1.3.4 Les habitants logés sur place sont soit des locataires qui bénéficient d'un loyer peu onéreux adapté à leurs ressources, soit appartiennent à un peuplement ethnique ou social déterminé. La vie du quartier est alors le reflet de la composante humaine dominante.

1.3.5 Les services publics sont induits par la présence de la concentration humaine. C'est le cas des locaux administratifs.

II. DIAGNOSTIC SUR L'EVOLUTION DES CENTRES VILLES

2.1 La spécialisation progressive des fonctions. Le tissu urbain des villes est particulièrement dense et très occupé. Son adaptation à des fonctions nouvelles est donc source de difficultés innombrables et souvent insurmontables. C'est ainsi que les aires de stockage, de parking ou de circulation occupent des superficies de plus en plus importantes.

Les tissus urbains anciens n'ont pas l'élasticité suffisante pour permettre l'implantation de nouvelles activités. La conséquence est donc la disparition progressive de la mixité des fonctions. L'on constate alors une spécialisation des fonctions et par voie de conséquence des types d'occupations (commerce, habitat ...).

2.2 La dégradation des bâtiments. Le peu d'entretien, un confort souvent très sommaire, insalubres et exigus provoquent une dégradation lente du patrimoine architectural. Par ailleurs, le type d'habitat qui en résulte ne correspond pas aux aspirations contemporaines. Il faut noter que l'indice d'occupation des sols est particulièrement élevé et que le parcellaire est très encombré par les constructions.

2.3 L'accessibilité et le stationnement défectueux constituent de plus en plus un handicap. En effet les distances pour l'automobiliste se mesurent plus en temps passé qu'en distance kilométrique. De plus les mesures contraignantes (sens interdits, stationnement payant ...) s'accumulent au fur et à mesure de l'envahissement des espaces libres. Une congestion urbaine chronique tend à s'instaurer dans les centres des villes.

2.4 La convergence des transports représente un atout certain pour les centres urbains. Il s'agit en effet de lieux de rupture de charge favorables aux commerces et aux activités piétonnes. Il convient de noter que les gares routières et ferrées sont situées généralement à proximité du noyau urbain ancien.

2.5 Le cadre de vie humain des centres anciens correspond architecturalement à un besoin des français. L'accumulation des nuisances de bruit et du trafic automobile réduisent toutefois l'attrait de certains lieux. Cependant les tentatives de rues piétonnes traduisent une volonté de réhabilitation.

III. ACTIONS ENGAGEES

Compte tenu de la situation actuelle des centres anciens, de leur situation du patrimoine bâti, de leur rôle économique et humain, un certain nombre de mesures sont engagées. Parmi les plus importantes, mentionnons :

3.1 Les aménagements nouveaux au titre du Fonds d'aménagement urbain

3.1.1 L'aménagement d'espaces publics. Actuellement 107 opérations visant à créer des rues piétonnes et à aménager des lieux collectifs sont en cours de réalisation dans les centres anciens.

3.1.2 Les espaces de loisirs urbains sont au nombre de 33 et tendent à créer une amélioration des conditions récréatives.

3.1.3 La réalisation de 26 parkings subventionnés permet une meilleure accessibilité.

3.1.4 L'implantation de logements sociaux rééquilibre 14 centres urbains qui avaient tendance à voir disparaître une population à revenu modeste.

3.1.5 La mise en valeur de 19 ensembles immobiliers et monuments renforce l'aspect du patrimoine des centres concernés.

3.1.6 La création d'équipements sociaux et culturels d'animation dans les bâtiments anciens ou historiques réanime la vie de 34 centres urbains.

3.2 La rénovation

L'état de 31 centres est tel qu'il a été nécessaire d'engager des actions de rénovation urbaine. Les actions engagées revêtent un caractère moins radical que celles initiées il y a vingt ans. En effet, il s'agit de :

3.2.1 Curetages en démolissant partiellement ou complètement des bâtiments hors d'usage. Une reconstruction des locaux n'est pas systématique.

3.2.2 Rénovation d'îlots qui nécessitent des travaux d'amélioration tels qu'il est indispensable.

3.2.3 L'élimination de constructions gênantes ou inutiles qui encombrent les centres urbains.

3.3 La résorption de l'habitat insalubre. Cette action a pour objet d'éliminer les constructions dangereuses quant à leur utilisation courante et à promouvoir la construction de logements de compensation.

3.3.1 Les 16 opérations de résorption en cours permettront de supprimer des locaux particulièrement malsains.

3.3.2 La création de 41 cités, programmes ou aides correspond au relogement des familles concernées par les opérations de résorption.

* * *

En conclusion, les actions engagées pour les centres sont des interventions "douces", c'est-à-dire qui respectent les caractéristiques actuelles, grâce à des études préalables. L'intervention d'équipes mobiles, l'établissement de plans de référence et la détermination de programmes d'actions arrêtés par les collectivités locales permettent d'envisager une revalorisation progressive des centres urbains anciens.

PROBLEMS OF INNER CITY AREAS IN GERMANY

Introduction by Dr. Hartkopf, State Secretary, Germany

The significance of an organized regional and settlement development for the environmental policy has by now found worldwide recognition. This is last but not least owing to the UN-World Conference HABITAT which took place two years ago in succession to the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment. The Centre for Human Settlements which is now to be established in Nairobi certainly represents a further step in the strengthening of the UN-activities in this field.

In the Federal Republic of Germany like in many other countries until very recent years one of the main problems with regional and settlement development was the phenomenon of urban sprawl in agglomerations. By now, not only the population numbers are declining but also our big cities are constantly losing population. It is within this context that the problem of inner cities has to be placed. The preservation and renewal of inner city areas is a major task of our country's housing and urban development policy. The Federal Government has explicitly made it one of its focal points in the political programme, interrelated with the environmental policy.

The Federal Government welcomes the opportunity to exchange views and experience on the problems of inner cities with its NATO partners, because the solution of these problems is an absolute prerequisite to the improvement of the environmental conditions of a great number of people. In this connection the Federal Government also likes to point out at the international co-operation which has already been initiated in this field, notably the studies of the OECD "Urban Sector Group" and the concerted research action of the European Communities on the development of big agglomerations. Moreover, the German Institute for Urbanism, in co-operation with the Academy for Contemporary Problems (USA) and the University of Reading (GB) is conducting a trinational research work on the problems of the revitalization of inner cities. This project is specifically meant to serve the international co-operation and the exchange of views in this field.

I would now like to give Ministerialdirigent Dr. Pflaumer the occasion to report on the kind of inner city problems in the Federal Republic of Germany, about the experiences that have hitherto been made and particularly about the action that has so far been initiated. Dr. Pflaumer is in charge of policy and research in regional planning and urban development in the Federal Ministry for Regional Planning, Building and Urban Development which is the competent Ministry in this matter.

PROBLEMS OF INNER CITY AREAS IN GERMANY

by Dr. H. Pflaumer, Germany

As to the kind of problems, we are able to assent in substance to the outline as it is presented in the British working papers. In the Federal Republic of Germany, forecasts on the demographic trend, the development of the employment structure and the migrations that go with it show that no agglomeration will be faced with substantial increases any more. The number of working places is stable. The structural change towards the tertiary sector, towards rationalization and concentration is continuing. Many medium-sized businesses have to give up and businesses which are still producing often find better conditions outside of the big cities. Reinvestments in the tertiary sector are most likely to be placed in good residential areas near the inner city, and consequently extrude residential uses. Even if large-scale migrations of public service companies out of the inner areas or new settlements in the immediate surroundings have not been observed as yet, the development still remains to be seen, and it possibly depends to a large extent on the future attitude of the resident population.

During the last decade, big cities in the Federal Republic of Germany showed an annual population loss of about 1% each as a result of migration to the outer areas. Mostly affected by this development are the inner areas of cities. The causes for these out-migrations lie mainly in poor housing conditions. The first to migrate out of the cities are those with better income and families with young children. These losses are not offset any longer by proportional in-migrations. The remaining population in the inner areas are the fringe groups of society. At the same time these problem zones are characterized by the age and poor quality of their housing, by a high construction density and particularly by considerable traffic nuisances. Even though these areas are by and large sufficiently equipped with public utilities, they are no longer subject to private investment in preservation and redevelopment. It has to be feared that particularly the migration of the resident population out of the inner cities will continue on a large scale.

Very probably, these developments have their cause among other things in the fact that in previous years two goals were much encouraged: the extension of the traffic network to back up the economy and the construction of new housing in peripheral areas to eliminate the housing need. The old housing areas in the city centre have thus been neglected. It is therefore important that more attention is now paid to these neglected old housing areas and that more extensive planning measures and financial funds are allocated to them.

Another cause for the present predicament is the fact that in the past residential uses were extruded by administrations. Administrations are not only established in city centres, but also often in still very good residential areas near the inner city. Almost invariably, this entails an increase in the price of land and an extrusion of residential uses. It must therefore be one of our objectives to keep, as much as possible, large administrations away from residential areas.

The main cause for the inner city problems in the Federal Republic of Germany are the changing standards that are set on housing. Comprehensive analyses of the housing market and studies on migration trends have established that the gradually increasing real income is accompanied by a strong and perceptible trend towards more floor space, better domestic equipment, an improved residential environment and towards the formation of housing property. Measures to increase the general attractivity of inner cities and to improve their cultural and commercial infrastructure are important - they will however not be able to influence the great number of out-migrations. Even if it may still happen that a young family moves to the city centre, the same family will look for more floor space in a better residential environment as soon as the family gets larger and the income increases. The present housing supply in the inner areas does not make allowance for this change in the demand.

The out-migrations are to a large extent a general evidence of prosperity. Everyone who changes residence and in the process increases his floor space is part of this phenomenon. Moreover, each new construction on average entails two more changes in the total stock and thus accelerates the process.

Since we have to deal with a variety of individual and independent decisions from the part of households, the process of migrations out of the cities is very hard to control. It can only be influenced if we succeed in improving and restoring particularly the housing conditions and the housing infrastructure in the inner areas to meet the increasing standards.

Migration studies on the reasons that motivated emigrants to leave show that most important in this matter are the improvement of the residential environment and particularly the reduction of traffic and traffic noise. More than 50% of the people who had left the inner cities declared a better and more quiet residential environment to be the most important criterion for the choice of their new home. Traffic noise is at the top of the disturbances that are alleged by emigrants. Without imposing restrictions on traffic in the old housing areas, measures to improve the housing stock will be in vain.

In accordance with the division of the public authority in the Federal Republic of Germany into Federal Government, Laender and communities, urban development measures primarily fall within the competence of the communities. They act autonomously and on their own responsibility, using their own administration. To be able to do so, local authorities receive a stated proportion of the total amount raised in taxation which they have practically at their free disposal. In other words: This far-reaching decentralization has been provided in view of the fact that local authorities know best how to deal with local affairs. In addition, this is facilitated by a financial equalization system by the Laender among themselves, and, within the Laender, by a system of the same kind at the local level. This system and the Federal structure have done much to avoid that the problems of regional and settlement development remain only concentrated on some few big cities. Beyond that, according to the Regional Planning Law there is a legal obligation for all bodies responsible for action to further smoothe out regional disparities. These measures are supported by the instrument of joint responsibilities and financial assistance, particularly for the fields of housing construction, urban development assistance, traffic extension and regional economic development. In a concerted action, the Federation and Laender have drawn up specific development programmes for these fields. Beyond that, the Federal Government is faced with exactly defined legislative competences, such as the framework legislation in the field of housing construction, the legislation in the field of planning and land law, and so on.

The interaction of government and private sector activities is ruled by the principle of the free market economy, i.e. the government on principle only intervenes to support. There are merely a few areas, such as f.e. education and road construction which are subject to the competence of the government. All other measures serve to encourage private initiatives and to support their implementation. All measures and instruments which will be explained in the following have to be looked at with this in mind.

An important instrument is the local authority development planning ("Bauleitplanung"). Communities draw up local plans ("Bebauungspläne"), which set down type and extent of the use of land for construction or other purposes. Last year, the legal basis for doing so has been framed by the Federal Government to meet the special planning requirements in old housing areas. The possibilities of land use designation have been refined and made more flexible; among other things, combinations of different uses on a small portion of land are now more easily admitted, and the possibility of excluding certain undesirable uses has been facilitated. By laying down these local plans, the communities provide a clear-cut planning outlook and at the same time security for public and private investment. It may also be interesting to note that developing rights which after a certain period have not been objectivated may be withdrawn without compensation. This is meant to retain the flexibility of the instrument. Furthermore, a citizen participation in the planning process is legally prescribed. Local authorities have to make goals and purposes of the plan available for public inspection. Everybody is free to raise objections against a certain plan and to have the correct handling of his objections examined by the courts.

Furthermore, since 1971 the Urban Development Assistance Act has been in force. It serves for the removal of specific abuses in urban development in certain particular areas and is temporally restricted. For this end it grants additional rights to the communities. For example under this law speculative increases in land value may be absorbed (however, often the initial values are already too high). The law includes - just like the general development planning - one section for injunctions with the possibility of ordering demolition, new construction or modernization measures, and one section for assistance. The aforementioned measures and the assistance do not only concern the construction of housing but also commercial projects and infrastructure.As a rule, Federation, Laender and communities participate in the cost for planning and infrastructure with one third each. The law has proved to be effective; the programmes under this law are to be further elaborated. However,

However, the high public expense and engagement is only justified for areas where it is a matter of remedying crying abuses. An active citizen involvement and the establishment of a social plan is also provided in the Urban Development Assistance Act.

In order to enlive the economy, the programmes and different financial assistance measures have in recent years been intensified by special programmes. They have considerably accelerated and supported urban development projects, notably measures for historical town centres, infrastructure, relocation of industry, replacement of housing and conversion projects as well as measures for the improvement of the residential environment.

An important instrument is the promotion of private housing construction. In addition to the general promotion of new housing construction which is bound to certain income limits, a Housing Modernization Act has been enacted last year, on the basis of which private modernization measures may also be assisted without regard to the income. This is to help those many areas which do not yet require measures in the extent as it is provided in the Urban Development Assistance Act. Modernization assistance may be granted for certain specifically designated areas or upon application of any private housing owner. The goal is to improve the domestic equipment and the modernization of buildings. However, experience has shown that up to now use has been made of modernization assistance mainly for areas with anyhow fair residential conditions and good social structure. So far, more problematic areas and low income groups have been left out. Moreover, the right proportion between the promotion of modernization and the promotion of new housing construction is still under examination. It has to be borne in mind that the promotion of new housing construction and the resulting changes of residence on average enable three households to improve their situation; the promotion of modernization puts an end to this "filtering". For the next years it is however projected to purposively further develop the promotion of housing modernizations and to gradually shift the assistance for new housing construction into the old housing areas. In the light of a social broad effect it is presently discussed whether the income level and standards applied when assisting modernization measures should not be lowered for the benefit of a greater consideration of the residential environment.

The measures for the amelioration of the housing stock and the residential environment are supplemented by fiscal measures. Since 1952, there is a publicly subsidized "saving-to-build" scheme. Furthermore, already many years ago the strong dependency of communities on the business tax which had existed until that time was lowered in favour of the income and employment tax. This has considerably increased the communities' interest in residential areas. Last year the tax concessions (such as higher deductions, exemption from land acquisition tax) that had hitherto only applied to the construction of new housing were extended to also include old houses.

Improvement measures for specially designated areas and measures for the amelioration of the housing stock usually entail higher cost for housing. To offset these higher rents for low-income groups, the system of housing allowances has been created which, within certain limits, represents a grant towards the rent for tenants or towards the charges for housing owners with low income. Last but not least in view of the higher rents in inner city areas, this housing allowance was raised last year.

Supplementary to the existing Rent Restriction Act, the possibility of prohibiting the conversion of dwellings to offices f.e. has been created for certain areas with special housing need. Experience has shown that this prohibition can prove to be very useful; however, it has to remain flexible in its application in order not to encumber important and useful investment in rehabilitation measures and thus to pander to the decay of buildings.

At present we are trying to develop possibilities for the improvement of the physical environment in the field of transport. Since a number of years already, within the framework of the financial aid for traffic extensions special attention has been given to the improvement of local passenger traffic. This year a law will be enacted on the protection against traffic noise, which will require the observation of certain maximum noise levels for the road and railway construction, resp. for a substantial change of these traffic lines. This applies also for existing trunk roads. Another law is presently being prepared which will establish the legal basis for the creation of residential areas with less traffic, in order to maintain oder and security on public roads and places. Restrictions to or prohibitions of traffic will also guarantee a sound urban development. Like in the Netherlands, the future should bring about a traffic and urban development which takes more than up to now the justified needs of residents into consideration.

The promotion of housing property formation is regarded an important means for the revitalization of inner city areas. Besides the aforementioned fiscal measures this is taken care of within the framework of housing construction programmes. Beyond that, the various international experiences in the field of construction of low-rise block of flats are presently under examination, a construction type which is particularly appropriate for the formation of housing property. The development of new housing forms which could be more apt to meet the changed housing demand is also being encouraged.

As a whole, the Federal Republic of Germany endeavours to ease the inner city problems by means of increased measures for the improvement of the residential environment and through a gradual shifting of its housing construction promotion into old housing areas. This is done in addition to its general economical development measures which are not regionally bound. The point is however to what degree and within what time development measures for problem areas in inner cities can be intensified. There are limits to the possibilities of restructuring the housing stock. Moreover, a certain amount of inexpensive housing is absolutely indispensable for certain groups of the population. Increased promotion measures along with social security require considerable subsidization. The problem of the high land prices in inner cities has not been resolved yet. Theoretically, one means of lowering the land price level could be to first allow the inner cities to run their course, by explicitly declaring this and by concentrating on the development of the outer areas. This will then precipitate the process of decay and ultimately result in the drop of land prices. This however does not seem to be a socially and economically adequate solution, nor does it do justice to the significance of cities.

If the policy of preservation and renewal of inner city areas is to be even more intensified, it must be able to rely to a large extent on the understanding and support of all groups of society. In recent years, the insight in these problems and the relevant private initiative have augmented in our country. This is also owing to the European Architectural Heritage Year (1975) which has been initiated by the Council of Europe. This initiative has served to make large sections of the population generally aware of the idea of building preservation and has thus resuscitated the interest in the preservation of values in old buildings. In the Federal Republic of Germany, those initiatives have been taken up and have led to the foundation of the German National Committee for the Architectural Heritage ("Deutsches Nationalkomitee für Denkmalschutz"). The Committee consists of important groups of the society and is financed jointly by the Federation and Laender. It has made it its object to promote as much as possible the idea of town preservation, by means of public relations work and concrete recommendations. Among other things it has initiated a competition on "urban design and monument preservation" which is meant to provide exemplary solutions for town preservation measures.

The task is now to further arouse the interest of all concerned and to further strengthen the basis that we have established.

PROBLEMS OF INNER CITY AREAS IN ITALY

Instituto di Urbanistica, Italy

INDEX

1. Introductory
2. Historical trends and present situation
    - 2.1 Historical trends
    - 2.2 Metropolitan conurbations
    - 2.3 Medium and small centres in economic balance
    - 2.4 Inner cities in underdeveloped areas
3. Intervention policies
    - 3.1 Policy aims
    - 3.2 Intervention policies within the present legislative framework
    - 3.2.1 Protective action
    - 3.2.2 Private interventions
    - 3.2.3 The law regarding the use of land for building
    - 3.2.4 Direct public intervention
4. Examples of intervention
    - 1. Venice
    - 2. Bologna
    - 3. Rome
    - 4. Molfetta
5. Urban decentralization and public participation
    - 5.1 Urban decentralization
    - 5.2 Public participation
    - 5.3 Protection associations
6. Future prospects
    - 6.1 Results attained and difficulties to be overcome
    - 6.2 The prospects
    - 6.3 Government action
    - 6.4 Regions and local authorities
    - 6.5 The university

1. Introductory

A comparison between the situations and experiences of various European (and, more generally, Western) countries leads to a reconsideration of the problem of safeguarding inner city areas within the ambit of both government and local government policies. Because its solution may be decisive for the conservation and revitalization of a common cultural tradition and for the creation of a balanced framework of social and civilised life.

The subject of inner city areas - which in Italy broadly coincide with the historic centres - is today more topical than ever. In recent years, starting with the international convention at Bologna in October 1974, and with European Architectural Heritage Year, there has been a continual series of researches, conventions and other initiatives. This action culminated in the congress at Amsterdam in October 1975, and, in Italy, in the convention at Rome in December 1975, promoted by the Minister of Public Works.

It has been possible to bring into better focus; the real dimensions of the problem, its social, economic, political, historical and artistic implications. Furthermore, the possible solutions have been brought under the scrutiny of public opinion and of people working in the public and private sectors (in the economic, political and cultural spheres). In particular, it has been possible for the Government, local councils and other public bodies concerned with the administration of the territory to plan more adequate policies of intervention. These have given results at both the legislative and practical levels through initiatives for the salvaging of numerous major and minor urban centres. It is clear by now that the approach to the problem of inner city areas cannot exclude consideration of certain fundamental points:

(1) The problem of inner city areas is not restricted to one or more sectors, a problem of protection and rationalization of the physical aspects (repair of ancient monuments) of restoration of the building fabric, valuable formally but in decline, of limiting congestion and traffic. Beyond these aspects, which nevertheless exist and are of importance, attention must also be paid to economic and social improvement and restructuring and to the care of the resident population. In fact physical degradation is only the superficial manifestation of a wider process of decline which affects every aspect of economic and social life in inner city

areas and which must be tackled as a whole. Alongside the traditional value attached to the historic urban centre, as a cultural asset, must be placed that of the historic centre as an economic asset and social category.

(2) A close connection links the problem of inner city areas with the more general one of land policy and hence to the legislative and executive instruments through which that policy is carried out. The phenomena of physical, economic and social decline of the inner city areas do not depend on purely local causes, to be tackled with localised remedies. They derive from a way of administering the whole order of the nation's territory which has not always been able to prevent the imbalances between productive sectors (agriculture, industry and the services sector), between town and country, between North and South. Imbalances which have manifested themselves in parallel with the process of industrialization of the country. For this reason the congestion and the take-over by the services sector of the metropolitan areas is intimately connected with the migratory phenomena, brought about by this process and to the consequent abandonment of small and medium-sized agricultural centres.

The problem affects not only the more important and famous cities but all inner areas (old and less old, small and large) in the country.

(3) The salvaging of inner city areas and, more generally, of all obsolete areas must be seen in a perspective of optimum utilization of existing resources, which avoids the destruction of environmental assets and the under-utilization or degradation of existing buildings. It can in particular make a decisive contribution to the solution of the housing problem in our country enabling the enormous costs of new construction to be kept within limits. The problem must therefore be set within the ambit of land planning and seen in connection with the general policy of planning and economic development. The difficulties of an economic order in which Italy finds herself necessitate today a rational utilization of resources enabling the demands to be met of a wide category of citizens who claim a place to live in on economically acceptable terms. This is why the safeguarding of the stock of buildings existing in inner city areas plays an important part in state programmes.

2. Historical Trends and Present Situation

2.1 Historical trends

The process of development of urban centres in Italy has special features connected with her history.

Urban life has important historical traditions of medieval origin which have conditioned the patterns of use of the land, the physical structure of the cities and the buildings handed down.

National unification, occurring when the urban framework was already consolidated (1870) hindered the formation of a territorial structure centred on one main city and instead favoured the development of lesser communities (which are about 8,000 in number). Thus every town, large or small, has its own culture, its own architecture and its own historic centre which usually coincides with its inner city area.

Recent industrial development (started in the second half of the nineteenth century) has set in train a complex mechanism of transformation and of transfer of economic, social and land resources. Within the space of a century (particularly during the last thirty years) the original order of the land and its cities has been distorted.

The difficult economic and social situation resulting from the Second World War and the dynamics of the process of reconstruction have conditioned both the acceleration of the processes and the difficulty of controlling them and also development strategies and policies. The main tendencies so far as this process is concerned have been as follows:

(1) Accentuation of industrial centralization and the acceptance in effect of conditions unfavourable to agricultural production.

(2) Encouragement of the building industry, in particular the new housing sector, as a polarising factor for industrial development.

(3) Encouragement given to private enterprise and to the expansion of private consumption, to the detriment of social investments.

(4) Absence of an effective policy of economic programming, of safeguarding of resources and of land planning.

The development of the processes of industrialization and transformation has had as a major consequence a growing concentration of activity in the North of the country (at the foot of the Alps, along the major rivers and along the coasts). Large masses of population have shifted from the South to the North, from the mountainous and hilly areas towards the coasts and from rural areas and small towns towards the metropolitan areas.

Arising from this there has been a polarization around the major centres where industrial and service sector activities located themselves. There has been average annual increase in population in the cities of the North (Milan, Turin, Genoa and Bologna) of 3.5% and in the cities in the centre and South (Rome, Naples, Bari, Taranto and Palermo) of 2.2%. While the depopulation of agricultural and inland regions has led to the abandonment of many urban centres.

In the course of the last thirty years the migratory phenomenon has affected more than twenty million people out of a total population which, as at 1977, was about 56 million.

Another consequence, and one particularly serious and important, has been the explosion of phenomena of "wild" urbanization in the principal cities which has placed the local governments in serious difficulties. In many cases urban expansion has become uncontrollable and has developed on the "oil stain" pattern producing phenomena of: rocketing income from the possession of land, vertiginous increase in rents and house prices, decline and deterioration of inner city areas, shortage of public services, traffic congestion, bad utilization of housing, very high social costs and the formation of illegally built outlying districts.

The processes of industrialization and urbanization have produced three situations with differing features in the inner areas of Italian towns:

(1) Historic centres and surrounding suburbs in the large expanding conurbations (industrial cities in the North: Milan, Turin, Genoa, Bologna, etc; service industry type cities in the centre and South: Rome, Naples, Bari, Palermo, etc.).

(2) Medium and small centres economically and socially balanced.

(3) Small agricultural centres in the regions in process of depopulation (especially in the South, in the islands and in the mountainous and hilly areas).

2.2 Metropolitan conurbations

In the metropolitan conurbations, both industrial and service industry type, there can be observed processes of economic, social and environmental transformation which are, in broad outline, common to all of them.

A strong tendency manifests itself towards the functional specialization of the various areas: with a concentration of population in the outlying districts and, in some cases, in the smaller surrounding communities, with the inner city areas turned over to service and managerial activities.

The most obvious phenomenon is the one which occurs in inner city areas where the absence of public intervention and control has allowed private enterprise to operate in accordance with market tendencies. Thus urban renovation operations take place (conducted by large property companies, by banks and by semi-public bodies) and these result in the expulsion of the inhabitants, who belong to the lower income groups, and their replacement by offices or luxury residences. These companies step in with massive purchases of properties in precarious conditions and at relatively low prices. The small owners prefer in fact to sell because they feel the weight of the financial burden of maintenance and are attracted by the new houses built in the outlying areas (the phenomenon of social promotion). Any tenants are induced to go elsewhere by various means of pressure (which run from enticing "lump sums" in cash to the neglect of maintenance of the properties to the point of making them uninhabitable). After these operations the companies can implement the restructuring of the buildings using them as their own offices or putting them up for sale or to rent.

The gains realised in this way have a very high social cost to the community: the flight of the original population, the decline of the economic and social fabric (composed of artisans, small traders and clerks) and the disfigurement of the traditional historic and artistic aspects. The inner city areas are transformed into business centres or luxury "ghettos" while the original population goes and adds to the expansion of the anonymous outlying areas, mingling with the immigrant population.

An important difference between the conurbations in the North and those in the South is imparted by the behaviour of the immigrants. In those in the South and centre immigration is essential directed towards the extreme outlying areas or towards the adjoining smaller communities, fuelling the phenomena of illegal housebuilding on land intended for agricultural activities, social amenities and the green belt. In the Northern conurbations a substantial proportion of immigrants instal themselves in the inner city areas as well. Usually these are people on their own with low financial resources who are forced to share a room with other tenants at very high prices. This phenomenon has a powerful influence on the decline of these inner areas which are usually in a worse state than those in the rest of the country. The owners have in fact no interest in maintaining the properties adequately. The tenants accept the situation because they consider it temporary and, as soon as they can, send for their families from the South and move to the outlying areas leaving their places to the new arrivals.

The situation is made worse by the demographic movement. The tendency to leave the inner city areas is considerably more marked for the age groups between twenty and thirty years. The average composition of the population changes because young couples in search of a new living place leave, the percentage of active population decreases and the number of old and of pensioners increases.

One of the consequences is the decrease in the school population which means that the existing facilities and services are over-provided and this attracts students from the outlying areas where these facilities are lacking. This leads to an accentuation of the commuter movement between centre and outskirts which, while it has some advantages, aggravates traffic congestion. By contrast the services to the old, which are those most in demand in the centre of the town, appear to be the very ones which are lacking.

2.3 Medium and small centres in economic balance

The chief towns of provinces and the smaller towns have been less hit by the process of industrialization and by the flight from the country areas, in many regions. They have more easily maintained an economic and social - and hence urbanistic - order of things which is more stable and more linked to tradition. To this category belong cities like: Siena, Assisi, Perugia, Urbino, Modena, Reggio Emilia, Ferrara and Parma.

In these cities, and especially in their inner areas, the level and type of activity have not markedly changed and the population has not undergone rapid variations. The social composition of the inhabitants too, and the percentage of active population have remained fairly stable or have undergone a relatively slow and controllable evolution. As a result, the phenomena found in the metropolitan areas have had lesser and not irreversible effects.

The economic forces still tend to maintain the existing balances, rather than to destroy them and then replace them with new ones. For this reason the inhabitants are able to fit the urban renovation measures within the framework of tradition, advantageously adapting existing buildings to the new requirements. Against this it occurs that in some regions the present situation is strongly linked to economic sectors which are unstable or in a transitional phase (for example, agriculture) and the building industry often proves to be the only stabilising factor. As a result of the incentives for the building of new houses in outlying urban areas a mechanism of social and physical disintegration is set in motion in the inner areas. The better-off classes leave and are replaced by families coming from the surrounding countryside. It is the first phase of an urban decline which has many examples especially in the South (Capua, Benevento, etc.).

2.4 Inner cities in underdeveloped areas

To this category belong the medium-sized and small towns, agricultural in character, in the South, in the islands, along the Appennine ridge, in the Alpine and Sub-Alpine arc and some pockets of underdevelopment still present in the developed regions of the North.

Emigration has hit the youngest age groups of the active male population. For this reason in the inner city areas there tend to remain only the old men, the children and the women.

The steep fall in the active population causes a situation in which: the old men work in the fields or carry on small-scale commercial activities, the women are for the most part housewives and help with the farm work, and local crafts, which were at one time a source of wealth, decline. In this way the smaller urban centres decline. The cultural heritage, the traditions, the artistic and natural beauties risk being lost. There are cases in which entire villages have been abandoned by the inhabitants or where human presence is gradually being extinguished.

The effects on the urban fabric are obvious. Along with the break-up of the old social equilibrium there is a more or less rapid decay of the buildings. The abandoned houses end by collapsing while those which are occupied cannot be brought up to modern living standards on account of the lower financial facilities available.

Many of these urban centres, especially those which are most valuable from the artistic point of view and nearest the large cities, have in recent years been the subject of a phenomenon of partial recovery. The better-off and more culturally educated classes in the nearby cities "rediscover" the poetry of the old villages, buy up the old houses and convert them for their holidays. Some building companies too have gone in for this process of transformation. In some cases entire villages, abandoned by the inhabitants, have been bought, renovated and sold to new purchasers. This phenomenon, which is still in progress, has caused lively controversy. It is clear that artificial communities are created, used only at certain times of the year, which have no relationship with the previous social fabric, with the surrounding land and with the activities carried on there. The necessity of adapting the built-up environment to new requirements leads sometimes to tampering, even of a serious nature, at the construction stage.

3. Intervention Policies

3.1 Policy aims

In itself the notion of salvaging inner city areas presupposes a fairly precise idea of the alternative configuration which they are to have and of the scale of values and objectives to be attained. In concrete terms the problem has to be posed of how to assign functions to replace the old ones, now obsolete, and the new ones which prove incompatible with the survival of the inner areas. There must be a clear identification of the historic values which have really survived and the new functions which can be carried on in the differing situations in order to maintain and if possible improve the level of economic and social wealth, revive conditions suitable for the continued presence of the population and its activities and safeguard the historical, artistic and cultural heritage. For this purpose solutions must be avoided which would transform the inner areas into dormitory towns or museums, forgetting that they were complete cities with a harmonious balance of diversified activities.

The problem of the historic centres - and more generally urban centres - cannot be tackled sector by sector or limited to the protection of the formal aspects of the various ancient monuments or historic and artistic complexes.

The concept of an ancient monument to be protected has been extended so far as to comprise the whole historic city, going beyond the distinction between the finer parts to be safeguarded and the lesser fabric to be converted. This practice of demolition and replacement of the historic fabric, of urban clearance in order to enhance the ancient monuments, of street widening and the enlargement of squares, of forced adaptation to new functions, is by now rejected not only by technical experts and men of culture but also by the population and by public administrators.

There are at least two good reasons for avoiding any kind of intervention which destroys or makes too deep inroads into the inner city areas. The first, of a historical and cultural order, is the awareness that they represent unique witnesses to the past and artistic values whose conservation is essential to the equilibrium of our culture and to its further development. The second, of a technical nature, is the practical impossibility of satisfactorily accommodating in the inner city areas a series of new functions (productive, managerial, in the services sector) which require very different spaces. The transformation of the previously existing urban fabric for these ends would have a very high cultural, economic and social cost.

A valid alternative to the decline of inner city areas is offered by the "integrated conservation" method which represents Italy's most important contribution to international town planning research from the end of the War onwards. It has been accepted at European level in the context of the displays organized by the Council of Europe, appearing in the conclusive statement of the meeting at Bologna (October 1974). A statement which was repeated in the final document of the congress at Amsterdam (October 1975) which concluded European Architectural Heritage Year. Its main points are:

(1) Scientific analysis and upgrading of the whole building fabric to adapt it to the necessities of life and work of the inhabitants. A correct solution to the problem of salvaging the existing stock of buildings cannot be found except within a planned programme of intervention measures in the area concerned. The salvaging of the urban structure must take place in terms of territorial equilibrium without waste of resources. To tackle the problem in question without taking account of this programming framework would mean carrying out an anti-economic operation inasmuch as it would lead to: under-utilization of existing infrastructure, progressive loss of the historic urban structure and a commitment to increasing expenditure on infrastructure in the new settlements.

(2) The advisability of commencing the work of upgrading from the historic centres which form a considerable and qualitatively emergent part of the present assets, a part which is already predisposed by history to the establishment of a stable relationship between the population and the built-up environment. This upgrading cannot be limited to a passive policy of protection by the imposition of restrictions but must provide for active intervention programmes. Only thus will it be possible to halt and reverse the speculative mechanisms characterised by: piecemeal sales, staggering price increases, indiscriminate demolition, take-over of the inner areas by service industries and dispersal of the original inhabitants.

(3) Adjustment of programmes of public intervention in residential house-building. These, originally conceived for the construction of new houses in outlying areas can be more and more directed to the restoration and repair of downgraded houses in the inner city areas and in areas already built-up. This enables unhealthy, unsuitable or in any way inadequate premises to be eliminated and overcrowding (where already above the norm) to be reduced.

(4) Aiming to avoid creating a special category of special and privileged measures and situations, but involving the whole fabric of the city and, within the framework of public interventions, mobilising private interventions as well. It is by now an established fact that the dimensions and complex character of the problem require for its solution the active concurrence of all the productive, social and cultural components concerned (politicians, administrators, those operating in the public and private sectors and the population itself). Public intervention by itself is totally insufficient to cover all that is needed, given the disproportion between the enormous requirements and the small productive capacity of the public sector. It has been shown that at the present moment this capacity could meet the cost of salvaging 5% of the whole stock of buildings in the country in 10 years, leaving all the rest abandoned to progressive decline (against the annual turnover of 7,500 billion lire in the private building sector the public sector can count on an average of 200-300 billion a year, and not all of this available for intervention in inner city areas). On the other hand, the private building sector, left to itself without controls, acquires the unacceptable speculative connotations to which reference has been made.

The solution can only be found in a harmonization of public and private intervention, under the control of local authorities and with the participation at the decision-making stage of the resident populations (in the context of a programmed policy and with continuing and adequate financing). There are various means best adapted to obtaining this integration: of particular importance among these are the co-ordinated schemes for areas of suitable size and agreements between authorities and private individuals. Moreover, activity in the building industry in connection with repairs and restructuring requires, for a given amount of capital, the employment of a larger work force than does new building; thus a valid contribution can be made to the absorption of the local unemployed or underemployed and to the revival of craft building traditions.

(5) The improvement, and, where necessary, supplementation of the range of local services needed by the population. Services which can be fitted in in the old buildings and in areas which are clear or are to be cleared.

(6) The protection and revival, alongside residences and services, of productive activities compatible with the environment.

(7) The choice of other functions, in scale with the town (administrative, commercial, cultural, recreational and tourist). Incompatible functions must be moved out and instead favourable conditions must be created for the development of those which are desirable in accordance with the prevailing requirements of the population.

(8) The introduction of traffic arrangements enabling congestion in the inner areas to be reduced: wide areas in the centre reserved for pedestrian use, development of the underground transport system, priority above ground to be given to public as opposed to private transport, free travel at rush hours, preferential routes, disincentive parking. It must in any event be remembered that the battle against congestion is won not so much by traffic engineering provisons as by moving away from the inner areas polarising and incompatible functions.

Difficult problems of priority of choice (in relation particularly to scarcity of resources), of freedom and of control are thus opened up. The problem also poses itself of the practical application of these criteria of action in very differing territorial contexts (North and South, congested areas and depressed areas), implementing the appropriate legal instruments and removing obstacles.

3.2 Intervention policies within the present legislative framework

In the course of recent years there have been many examples of the above-mentioned criteria in inner city areas. These constitute a first and valuable collection of experiencess from which inferences can be drawn as to the lines to be followed and the difficulties and obstacles to be overcome. In fact the difficulties caused by the absence of an organic legislative discipline directly orientated towards the problems of inner city areas have come to light. To enable the urban renewal measures - particularly public - taken in recent years to be achieved reference has had to be made to rules included in various legislation and regulations, unconnected with each other, which arose in other times and for other purposes.

The rules in question can be divided into four main groups:

(1) Legislation for the protection of "cultural assets": Act of 1st June, 1939 No. 1089 "protection of items of artistic and historical interest", Act of 29th June, 1939 No. 1497 "protection of natural beauties".

(2) National town planning legislation: Act of 17th August, 1942 No. 1150, Act of 6th August, 1967 No. 765 "bridging act", Act of 19th November, 1968 No. 1187, Act of 1st June, 1971 No. 291, Act of 22nd October, 1971, No. 865 "housing act", Ministerial Decree of 2nd April, 1968 "town planning standards", regional town planning legislation.

(3) Act of 28th January, 1977 No. 10 "regulations for the use of land for building".

(4) Legislation on public building work: Act of 18th April, 1962 No. 167 "arrangements for encouraging the purchase of building sites for low-cost and council house building", Act of 21st July, 1965 No. 904 Act of 22nd October, 1971 No. 865 "housing act", Act of 28th January, 1977 No. 10.

3.2.1 Protective Action

There are two acts in question, passed in 1939, which in character are passively defensive of cultural assets. Their aim, through public control and by means of incentives and restrictions, is to prevent the incorrect use of assets which might cause their destruction or misuse. Act No. 1089 on the "protection of items of artistic and historical interest" lays down that the Minister for cultural and environmental assets shall make arrangements for the formation of a list of any movable or fixed items (villas, parks and gardens, ancient monuments) in public and private ownership which have a historical or artistic value. These cannot be converted, restored, transported and sold without the authority of the Minister who issues it through the Offices of Superintendents of Ancient Monuments. Orders can be given for any measures necessary for the conservation of man-made items to be taken at the owner's expense (if the latter has insufficient means the costs may be borne in whole or in part by the State).

The Minister can compulsorily purchase assets covered by the Act, for reasons of public benefit, if this is rendered necessary for the conservation or improvement of the national heritage. For offenders there are provisions for financial sanctions and the restoration, at their expense, of damaged items (when this is possible).

Among the tasks of the Offices of Superintendents of Ancient Monuments there is the cataloguing of cultural assets. A problem which has been studied for years not only for mobile assets but also for the historic centres, in accordance with the recommendations of ICOMOS and of the Council of Europe. In many provinces the ancient monuments have been catalogued and questionnaires have been designed for the historic centres. However, the results are still uncertain both for technical reasons (the questionnaires so far produced do not show the economic dimensions of the decline, the priorities for conservation and the new rôles and they are not computerisable) and for financial reasons (there are insufficient funds and priority has been given to movable items).

Another task of the Offices of Superintendents is advice and control in drawing up town-planning schemes (in particular the detailed plans for inner city areas). Furthermore some special legislation (for Tuscania, Venice and Ancona) has assigned to the Offices of Superintendents the supervision of "urban renewal" projects; this work cannot be properly carried out by the present staff who are already overloaded with work.

Lastly, the Offices of Superintendents are charged with the protection and restoration of public buildings, on the basis of annual financial plans, and they issue the authorization for restoration work carried out by private individuals.

Act No. 1497 "protection of natural beauties" provides for the compilation of provincial lists comprising: the natural beauties, villas, gardens and parks, complexes of fixed items "which constitute a characteristic aspect having aesthetic and traditional value". Citizens and organizations can propose the inclusion in the lists of items of particular interest; the owners have three months in which to oppose such inclusion. It is to be noted that the protection of historic centres in their entirety, and not only of individual ancient monuments, is permitted.

For complexes of fixed items and for panoramic beauties country planning schemes can be drawn up for the area.

3.2.2 Private interventions

The town planning act (as subsequently modified) assigns to the schemes (general or detailed) power to subdivide the local authority territory into homogeneous areas and to lay down particular restrictions for each of these. For the historic centres very tight restrictions may be laid down preventing the conversion of buildings and changes of rôle, with a view to preserving the original features. The rules contained in Building Regulations and building programmes have the same aim (in the absence of a town planning scheme). Even in the absence of any legal instrument the law lays down a series of limits on building activity. In conurbations of particular historic artistic or environmental value only consolidation or repair work, without change in volume, is allowed.

Other regulations concern "safeguard measures" (that is, the prohibition of building before the scheme comes into force), the restrictions on the construction of buildings more than 25 metres in height, the power given to the regions to intervene, with modifications to the scheme, in order to protect the environment.

Ministerial Decree No. 1444, which lays down inter alia town planning standards, supplies an official definition of historic centres as "those territorial areas affected by conurbations having a historical or artistic character or one of particular environmental value or by parts of them, including the surrounding areas which can be considered an integrating part, on account of such characteristics, of the conurbations themselves".

Besides these regulations for the passive protection of inner city areas - and historic centres in particular - there are others which permit renovation measures with the participation of private individuals. The local council, at the time of approval or implementation of detailed plans (with which the town planning scheme is put into effect) can arrange for the formation of "comparti edificatori"; these comprise clear or built-up areas to be converted according to a unified programme (other legislation and regulations define various types of "comparto" in relation to the financial standing and interests of the owners). If at least three quarters of the owners are in agreement they form themselves into a consortium and - subject to the prior compulsory purchase of the lands and buildings of the non-participating owners - proceed with the building work and conversion of buildings according to the provisions laid down by the local council. The choice, then, for the owners lies solely between participation in the consortium or compulsory purchase. The whole operation is at the expense of the owners who may have a local authority subsidy or apply to the land credit or specialised credit institutions. If the consortium fails to get itself set up the local authority can compulsorily purchase the whole of the "comparto" and call for tenders for carrying out the work.

This procedure for joint intervention by the local authority and private individuals for the planning and execution of the work has been used fairly frequently to implement measures of urban renovation. The results have been good as witness the case of Bologna and of towns affected by special legislation.

3.2.3 The law regarding the use of land for building

Act No. 10 regulates in a new way the use of building sites with the aim of removing some of the obstacles which have conditioned town planning in our country. The right to build (which formerly was a right inherent in ownership of the ground, subject only to the issue of the "licence" which ensured its conformity to plans and regulations) passes to the local authority which grants it in "concession" against payment of a contribution (proportionate to the incidence of the costs of urbanization and to a percentage of between 5% and 20% of the construction costs). The contribution varies in relation to the dimensions, rôle, typology and location (on land or in the built-up area) of the buildings, on the basis of the figures in parametric tables determined by the region (costs of urbanization) and by the Minister of Public Works (construction costs). In applying these local authorities have a certain margin of discretion.

It is clear how the fixing of differentiated financial burdens enables local authorities to orientate private building activity towards renovation or towards new construction. In general, local authorities and the regions have, up to now, demonstrated their willingness to give preferential treatment to urban renovation.

The cost of the concession is reduced to the urbanization charges only if the holder of the concession undertakes (by "covenant" with the local authority or by unilateral "atto d'obbligo") to respect the typological and constructional characteristics and to charge fixed sale prices or rentals. Local authorities also have another important instrument for orientating the development of building activity towards particular areas of their territory. This instrument is the "multi-year implementation programme" which defines the sites or areas in which the provisions of the town planning instruments are to be implemented in the succeeding three or five-year period. Concessions are granted only for these areas and if these are not requested within the time limits laid down the local authority can resort to compulsory purchase. The combined action of the "concession" and of the "multi-year development programme" aims at setting private building activity in a new framework characterised by controls and public enterprise. The effect of the innovation is diminished by the fact that part of the building activity is carried on illegally (especially in Rome and in the major centres in the South). Owners are thus able to escape both the ban on building and the payment of the concession. Local authorities, although empowered by law to impose very severe penalties, cannot impose them because of the size of the phenomenon and the lack of staff. The most interesting provisions are those aimed directly at the encouragement of urban renovation measures. The law sanctions free concessions for measures of repair, preservative clearance and restructuring (provided they do not involve any increase in total usable surface areas or change in rôle). It is sufficient for the concession holder to undertake - by means of a covenant or an "atto d'obbligo" to charge sale prices and rents agreed with the local authority. The concession is also free for maintenance measures and for improvements to the hygenic and functional conditions and for the installation of public services.

These regulations aim at giving preferential treatment - for the first time in Italian legislation - to the salvaging of the existing stock of buildings in inner city areas, by concentrating private resources on this.

In spite of the results attained there are some reservations and the debate is still in progress.

3.2.4 Direct public intervention

Act No. 167 lays down that towns with more than 50,000 inhabitants or chief towns of provinces (and also any town with a percentage of unhealthy dwellings higher than 8%) must compile a plan of the areas to be assigned to the building of low-cost and council housing districts. The land comprised in the plans drawn up by the local authority is compulsorily purchased and handed over under "surface rights" concessions to public, co-operative and private bodies. These must undertake to build on it low-cost housing and the related services. The act also lays down how and to whom the dwellings are to be given.

The amounts paid to the local authority for the first "concessions" are used for the compulsory purchase of new sites.

Act No. 60 of January 1963 set up the GESCAL, a public body for carrying out public building work with compulsory contributions from workers and employers. The act enabled GESCAL to employ its funds for the renovation of tied buildings. Thus, towards the end of the sixties, the GESCAL (shortly before it was closed down) gave the go-ahead to an experimental programme of urban renovation in eleven towns, on the basis of special development plans. Out of the funds allotted a substantial part was used for Ancona, which had been hit by an earthquake, and the remainder passed to the local authorities included in the programme.

Act No. 865 modified and integrated the previous Act No. 167. A unified management was set up for public intervention in residential building, laying down unified procedures and standards and winding up all the public bodies previously operating in the sector (with the exception of the Instituti Autonomi Case Popolari). The programmes are put into practice by the IACP using the funds allotted by the act and the compulsory contributions paid by workers and employers. The task of establishing the programmes and the distribution of the funds was transferred to the regions and to the CER (Comitato per l'Edilizia Residenziale). The regions submit to the CER, which is the central controlling body, the lists of their requirements and priorities and the CER draws up a three-year programme of distribution of the funds. Art. 9 of the Act provides that sites in inner city areas may be compulsorily purchased in order to carry out public works and for "the restoration, including conservation, of conurbations". The compulsory purchase price is fixed on the basis of the price of agricultural land suitably increased.

Art. 32 provides that "sites on which there are standing properties whose demolition or conversion may be required for hygienic or medical reasons or may be considered necessary for the carrying out of the plan" can also be included in the low-cost and council building scheme.

Art. 55 and Art. 67 lay down the various sources of finance (limited to the three-year period 1971-1973) for measures of restructuring, restoration and preservative repair of whole building complexes included within historic centres.

The act has opened up considerable possibilities of public intervention in inner city areas, being the first act which explicitly lays down certain regulations for restoration work assigns public funds to it. Already in 1973 the first urban renewal programmes were financed in four towns in Lombardy and other programmes have been started in succeeding years.

4. Examples of Intervention

Experience in Italy has led to a first series of concrete results. Their value is still limited by the absence of an organic act embracing and unifying the provisions which at present are spread around in acts with differing if not contradictory objectives. Frequently in implementing measures use has been made, according to requirements and times, of funds and legal provisions coming in fact from various acts; this situation makes it difficult to furnish a coherent classification. An earlier generation of intervention measures was operated by GESCAL in collaboration with the regions, local authorities and IACPs. These measures concerned the cities of Venice, Milan, Molfetta, Bologna, Verona, Gubbio, Ancona, Bergamo, Ascoli Piceno and Palermo.

The winding up of GESCAL has not prevented continuation of the programmes which, with greater or less success, have been developed through the new legislation. In some cases local authorities were able to conduct the operations directly (as at Bologna, Verona and Bergamo), in other cases it was considered advisable to create new intermediate organizations. This is the case with Venice where inter alia a special act has come into play, or Vicenza, which, however, did not form part of the series of ex-GESCAL projects.

Following the example of Bologna and thanks to the law on low-cost and council house building, many local authorities have introduced into their own town-planning schemes the re-use of the inner city area and in some cases this is in course of implementation. Among these local authorities are: Modena, Ferrara, Rimini, Genoa, Barletta, Turin and Rome. Then there are some special cases in which there has been, more or less directly, intervention on the part of the state; there are, for example, the arrangements made for siting the university in the centre of Bari and the international competition for the urban and environmental restoration of the "sassi" district of Matera.

Finally, two regions have drawn up pilot projects for the salvaging of smaller centres. These are the region of Tuscany (local authority areas of Castagneto Carducci, Montepulciano, Pietrasanta, San Giovanni Valdarno) and the region of Umbria (local authority areas of Norcia, Preci, S. Eutizio, Campi, Poggiodomo, Gubbio, S. Maria di Burano, Costacciaro).

Four examples among many can, it is considered, be quoted with advantage both on account of their interest and because they exemplify four differing urban situations. These comprise a historic and artistic city with mainly cultural and tourist activities (Venice), a medium size city with a balanced productive structure and a strong university presence (Bologna), a city of very large dimensions and with a clear predominance of service sector activities (Rome) and lastly a medium size town in the South (Molfetta).

1. Venice

Venice is one of the Italian cities in which a salvage operation of the inner area, which in this case coincides almost entirely with the present inhabited area, has been started. Planning of the intervention measures has presented special difficulties owing to: the structure of the city, the presence of numerous ancient monuments of enormous historical and artistic value, the dilapidated condition of the buildings (out of 35,000 dwellings 17,000 are in need of radical repairs), the poor quality of the housing (in 1971 it was found that about 48% of the dwellings lacked a bath or shower) and the shortage of facilities. To this must be added the tendency for the inhabitants to leave the city and move to the mainland, on account of both the unhealthy environment and the lack of work (the number of inhabitants fell from 178,169 in 1945 to 104,829 in 1976). This situation required the passing of a special act, in 1973, making the necessary funds available. A second operation, of fundamental importance, was the compilation of the data and later of the town-planning scheme together with 18 detailed plans and 600 co-ordination projects. For these last the population was urged to participate through consultations.

Lastly, the third operation was the creation of the body which is to implement the measures. These were partly carried out by GESCAL and are now the responsibility of Edilvenezia (an undertaking set up by the special act with mixed capital, of which 80% is public).

The intervention measures have been implemented in successive phases sub-divided as follows: the first dealt only with the restoration of some ancient monuments and large buildings belonging to the city, the second the construction and repair of a limited number of dwellings and "temporary lodgings", the third aimed definitely at the salvaging of old dwellings and the sixth, at present in progress, has extended this work by taking action in some of the poorest districts (Sestieri). The chief problems facing the officials concerned have arisen not only from the technical aspects but also from the necessity to limit rent increases for the repaired dwellings the rents before repair being very low (12.5 dollars a month) and to find suitable work and facilities for the returning population (it has been calculated that the city could accommodate about 118,216 inhabitants).

2. Bologna

Bologna is certainly the best-known case in Italy of the re-use of an inner city area. From 1969 to 1972 a series of plans, of which the most recent provides for low-cost and council housing measures in 13 "comparti" in the historic centre, were drawn up for the city and its territory. These plans supplied the framework and clarified the choices through which the succeeding work was made possible. The first important novelty was that the local authority carried out the planning and implemented the measures directly without having recourse to intermediate organizations. Leaving aside a description of the enquiries carried out (social, urbanistic, typological and historical) the other items of interest are: the techniques of restoration (divided into renovation, re-structuring and repair) which strictly respected the characteristics of the buildings, the utilization of legislative instruments (Act No. 167 of 1962 for low-cost and council housing, Act No. 865 of 1971 about housing and Act No. 10 of 1977 concerning land usage) and, in particular, the use of covenants. In fact, to avoid using too much capital for the purchase of properties and because of the local population's opposition to compulsory purchase the local council to a large extent left the old owners in possession. These latter, if they have the financial means, undertake, in exchange for payment facilities, to keep the old tenants on at a fixed rent. If the owner lives in the restored dwelling and has insufficient means to pay he can stay in his dwelling for the rest of his life and it will be his heirs who will pay a redemption fee to the local council. Lastly, vacant dwellings are not allotted by the local council, but directly by the district organizations.

One of the limitations on the measures implemented in Bologna is the requirement for sufficient capital. Nevertheless the costs do not seem excessive if account is taken of the economies affected by the use of existing facilities and services. The cost of housing repair runs from a maximum of 308.7 dollars to a minimum of 186.2 dollars per square metre. If account is taken of necessary expenditure on supplementary public works and on social services the cost for every inhabitant settled is 7,500 dollars.

3. Rome

Rome is, in order of time, one of the most recent interventions now in progress. In the inner area of Rome the forces leading to expulsion of the previously settled population and its replacement by richer classes or by offices have operated very strongly (the population of the oldest part decreased from 370,000 inhabitants in 1951 to 168,000 in 1976). This has occurred in contrast to the provisions of the town-planning scheme which tried to put a brake on this phenomenon and which, as last drawn up in 1974, extended the concept of conservation to include "the residential functions of the historic centre with a view to assisting the present population, considered to be part of the environment, to remain". Furthermore, the scheme provides for a study to be made of the entire central area (1,500 hectares) and lays down that reclamation measures shall be implemented by means of detailed plans, including some of small dimensions. For this reason, although the city council has not yet completed the typological study of the inner area it has decided to proceed with the reclamation of a group of blocks in its possession. This was possible owing both to the legislation in force and to funds placed at its disposal by some special acts covering Rome. The buildings comprised in the plan for the "Tor di Nona" area are grouped in five nuclei totalling 300 inhabitable rooms. The first intervention project, at present in an advanced phase of preparation, affects a block comprising 46 dwellings with a total of 147 rooms.

This experiment is particularly interesting because it will be carried out in a city which traditionally has very difficult housing problems and an economic structure strongly linked to the building industry sector.

4. Molfetta

Molfetta has a particularly serious situation which directly feels the effects of the underdevelopment problems of the South. In the inner area of the town no less than 60% of the houses have been declared uninhabitable on account of their state of neglect. The majority of the population, which amounts to 65,000 inhabitants has shifted to the outer areas giving rise to serious urbanistic problems and to very high costs for services and facilities. A series of factors favour the salvaging of the inner area and these are: the desire of a part of the inhabitants to return to the old districts, the large number of properties (about 50%) owned by the local council and the existence of funds already allocated by the ex-GESCAL. In this case the difficulties arise instead from the absence of an adequate town-planning instrument, from the absence of urbanization works and hence higher costs.

The size of the built-up area and the existing typology of the buildings mean that various types of measures (repair, demolition and rebuilding) are necessary. The programme of works includes the sub-division of the inner area into "comparti" and the drawing up of a detailed plan for each of these. For the first of these "comparti" (14,600 cubic metres) it was decided to intervene fairly quickly even though the local council's financial position is somewhat difficult (to date the local council has allocated only 11,250 dollars a year to the historic centre).

5. Urban Decentralization and Public Participation

5.1 Urban decentralization

An important rôle in implementing the salvaging of inner city areas has been played by the "Consigli di Circoscrizione". These have enabled the authorities to have a more accurate knowledge of local situations and the requirements of the inhabitants. In the principal cities the local authority area has been divided into parts and for each of these a "Consiglio di Circoscrizione" has been set up. This works side by side with the local authority in a consultative rôle, in managing some public services and supplying a series of departmental services. This organization which started in Bologna in 1959 has been extended to all the most important cities. By an act of 1976 the power of the "circoscrizioni" was increased and it was decided that election to the "consiglio" should be by universal suffrage. In matters of town-planning the duties of the "consigli" are for the moment limited to simple expressions of opinion which nevertheless, in urban renovation experiments, have had considerable importance both at the planning stage and at the stage of implementation of the measures.

One of the declared aims of decentralization is moreover to encourage the interest and direct participation of the inhabitants. When variations have been made to town-planning schemes and programmes of urban renovation (for example, Corso Garibaldi in Milan, S. Lorenzo in Bologna and Tor di Nona in Rome) the "Consigli di Circoscrizione" have acted as promoters (as allowed by the act) of public meetings where the population has discussed the projects presented. The "Consigli di Circoscrizione" have also enabled representatives elected by the population to attend study commissions and they have held meetings with the self-appointed district committees.

5.2 Public participation

Some forms of participation have been directly developed by the population through the setting up of self-appointed district committees. These have demanded a different and "socially orientated" use of the city, publicly drawing attention to: the shortage of social services and green belts, the hygienic and urbanistic conditions in out-lying areas, delays in the solution of the housing problem for the lower income groups. In inner city areas the action of the district committees has been concentrated on: the problem of salvaging the housing stock, the problem of the expulsion of the inhabitants and their replacement by offices, the necessity of "putting back into circulation" the stock of buildings (public and private) kept empty or under-utilised. For this purpose they have evolved forms of pressure on public bodies (local authority, "consigli di circoscrizione", IACPs) both in the form of collaboration and, sometimes, through clamorous protests.

For example, at Bergamo a citizens' "gruppo di impegno" has worked out a programme of its own for revitalising the historic centre of "Upper Bergamo" and this has been accepted in part by the authorities. Another example is Florence where the district committees contributed to the rescue and rebirth of the inner city area after the flooding in 1966. In Venice, too, the district committees and the population have a part in the drawing up and implementation of detailed plans for the historic centre. Similar action has been taken in Rome, Milan, Turin and other cities large and small.

5.3 Protection associations

Very important action for the protection and up-grading of inner city areas - especially for those of greatest historical and artistic value - has in recent years been carried on by cultural and protective associations.

Among these at least two must be mentioned:

(1) Italia Nostra has as its aim "the protection of the nation's historical, artistic and natural heritage" in which all the historic centres hold a pre-eminent place. Among the actions taken by it there are the following: alerting public opinion to an awareness of its own rights over the environment and the need to exercise them; the demand for new legislation or its views on bills before parliament, co-operation with the district committees; the formulation of "observations" on town-planning schemes, detailed plans and programmes of urban renovation; reporting illegalities which threaten the integrity of the historical and artistic heritage.

(2) The ANCSA (Associazione Nazionale Centri Storico Artistici) is an association - founded at Gubbio in 1960 by specialists in the sector and by local and regional authorities - whose aim is to work out concrete programmes for the renovation and protection of the inner areas of Italian cities. Among its actions are the following: compilation of interdisciplinary studies and researches; organization of biennial meetings and congresses; presentation of parliamentary bills or its views on those under discussion; critical control of projects for clearance and conservation. Its principal aim is to go beyond a purely defensive policy through measures of intervention (with a pace-setting public rôle) that can be set in the wider context of regional planning and programming.

6. Future Prospects

6.1 Results attained and difficulties to be overcome

From the examples shown it can be clearly seen that "integrated conservation" of inner city areas is moving from theory to reality. A certain number of local authorities has begun to adopt this trend in concrete form, making use, as already stated, of existing legislation. The interventions are still few in number and, because of their experimental nature, it has been possible to implement the measures only in particularly favourable conditions. The presence of obstacles (legislative, financial and technical) prevents public intervention from playing an effective rôle in responding to the demand for housing.

In the metropolitan areas part of the population still lives in inadequate or indeed unfit housing. This phenomenon is probably not apparent from the statistics. The ratio between inhabitants and rooms seems in fact to be good while in reality: the new dwellings are too expensive and remain empty; the old dwellings - whose rents are frozen by law - are not relinquished by the tenants even when, after the children have married, they have become too big. To problems of this type are added the difficulties produced by, inter alia, the continual increase in prices and the persistence of speculative interests (in spite of the action of Act No. 10). Public authorities are aware of the absence of more adequate legislation enabling them to take action for the salvaging of the existing stock of buildings. In fact neither the use of instruments such as the "covenant" nor the efforts made by the individual regions to bridge the gaps still present have proved sufficient.

6.2 The prospects

A response is required on the part of the public authorities - at national and regional level - which will modify the legislative and financial conditions. In this way the best results of past experience will be feasible over the whole country.

Such a policy must enable the operator in the public sector to become the promoter of a process of upgrading of the urban fabric. The operator in the public sector, through direct intervention and by the indirect method of incentives, must effect the reclamation of housing and improvement of the infrastructures and services.

6.3 Government action

The necessity for a framework of legislative reference which is generalized and systematic is obvious. The law must be so designed as to ensure a fair balance between general and uniform orientation for the whole country and particular orientations for the various local situations.

It is the responsibility of government to specify the aims and choices, fitting the salvaging of inner city areas into a more general strategy. This strategy must ensure a renewed productive and financial equilibrium and the harmonious development of the area. In particular the following must be laid down for the inner city areas: the operating restrictions and the financial framework for intervention measures by public authorities; the requirements, incentives and conditions for private intervention (in relation to restrictions on intended use, on rents, on sale of restored buildings etc.). In this connection there is need for a modification of the financial conditions which, in the context of medium-term planning of investment in the building industry, will encourage repair operations on the supply of buildings already existing and will suitably adjust for this purpose the mechanisms in force. In this way a secure base is offered to the programmes of authorities, co-operatives and public and private operatives. Identification of the quantitative weight to be assigned to operations on the existing supply of buildings is indispensable in order to enable the productive sectors to rationalize and reconvert as necessary and to help full employment.

Reform of the law on land usage has represented an indispensable preliminary requirement. Other action is in course of preparation as, for example, the solution of the problem of rents ("fair rent scheme") which can assist a policy of salvaging the existing supply of housing by permitting the mobility of family units.

As regards intervention measures in inner city areas the importance attached to this problem in parliamentary bill No. 1,000-bis must be remembered. This bill - passed by the Chamber of Deputies on 22nd December, 1977 and at present under consideration by the Senate - constitutes a further step forward. It decrees that, beginning in 1978, a ten-year housebuilding programme is to be put into effect. Provision is made for subsidised (public) and covenanted or assisted (private) building measures which will be directed to both the construction of new dwellings and the salvaging of existing dwellings in inner city areas. Implementation of the programme will be the responsibility of the regions which, inter alia, will lay down the percentage to be devoted to urban renovation. This type of intervention is governed by the new bill which gives local authorities the task of choosing the urban areas in which to effect improved utilization or reconstitution of the threatened urban assets. For the first time an official definition is given of what is meant by: ordinary and extraordinary maintenance, restructuring and repair of properties of historical and artistic interest.

The instruments are again those of direct public intervention or covenant but they have been improved on the basis of past experience.

In spite of these advances other problems too should be tackled. It is fundamental to facilitate housing mobility by fiscal measures. These must, for example, place heavier fiscal burdens on those in possession of large houses which are not utilised or are under-utilised. The use of the fiscal weapon, together with a policy of selective credit to building operations with the same objectives, will also have the effect of inducement towards a partial productive reconversion of building activity in a direction more consistent with the requirements of the demand. Furthermore, there is a demand from several quarters for government assistance to those wishing to buy or rent a home by a policy of incentives and supplementary payments. These must enable a not excessive figure to be paid without this being to the detriment of the property. The solution of this problem will enable at least a part of the gap between production costs and the financial means of a wide band of purchasers to be bridged. In this way a correct and not speculative use of urban renewal will be ensured.

Lastly, it will be necessary to facilitate the technical conversion of the interiors of flats which no longer meet requirements. Careful studies will be necessary so as to reconcile the new standards with the architectural and typological features of the existing buildings in the various inner city areas.

6.4 Regions and local authorities

Today the premises exist for urging an explicit commitment on the part of regions and local authorities to systematic intervention in inner city areas by means of the economic, political and financial instruments at their disposal. In particular the transfer of responsibility for town planning to the regions has given more weight and independence in decision-making to the local political and economic context. This has given rise to renewed interest and a greater readiness to adopt initiatives which at one time would never have been thought of. In the future this effort must be sustained and increased. The regions must assume in full the direct and indirect powers assigned to them by the constitution and fill in the gaps in their town-planning legislation. In fact it is on the regions that responsibility falls for the distribution over their territory of the public funds allocated and hence for the evaluation of intervention measures in inner city areas (objectives, functions, investment, typological and structural conversions).

The fundamental operative rôle must in any case be entrusted to the local authorities. These are the most suitable organizations to understand the social and urban structure (making use of the method of public participation as well). To the local authorities must fall the final evaluation regarding the best way of distributing funds between measures for new building and upgrading that already existing. The work of study and planning involved in these aims must be considered a prime task of the local authorities and one which cannot be delegated. They must therefore set up or enlarge the necessary departments.

6.5 The University

The universities are entrusted with a decisive function for the safeguarding and correct utilization of inner city areas. In them are trained the experts who will have to work in the public branches of central, regional and local government and in public corporations in each area. Among the necessary university disciplines the main emphasis will have to be on the historical and urbanistic with precise reference to the theme of "urban upgrading". At the same time - in accordance with the pointers from UNESCO and the Council of Europe - post-graduate courses on this subject must be evolved. These will have to take place in the regional areas and be linked to the specific contents of the latter's cultural and architectural traditions.

URBAN RENEWAL IN THE NETHERLANDS

presented by H.E. A.F.K. Hartogh, The Netherlands

I. Introduction

After a four-year period of preparation, the last government placed the Urban Renewal Bill before the Lower House of Parliament on 31st May, 1976: a national congress on urban renewal had been held in The Hague in January 1972, and it was this congress that led to the legislation being prepared. Since May 1976 the long-standing discussion of the subject has concerned itself principally with the new Bill. Various organizations with special knowledge of the matter have produced their official recommendations (the Union of Dutch Municipalities on 27th October, 1976, the Housing Council on 3rd November, 1976 and the Advisory Council on Town and Country Planning on 17th November, 1976). These recommendations have also been submitted to Parliament. The new Minister of Housing and Physical Planning has expressed the hope that Parliament will be able to debate the Bill in the fairly near future. It has already been examined by a special parliamentary committee: their findings were published on 7th January, 1977, and the then Minister and state secretaries issued the customary statement of reply on 3rd August, 1977. The new Government also regards urban renewal as an urgent matter, and in its statement on taking office, made on 16th January, 1978, it gave priority to urban renewal policies.

Urban renewal is not a phenomenon peculiar to our own time: on the contrary, as long as there have been towns and cities they have been subject to a process of continual change and adaptation - albeit not always at the same rate and rarely under the planned guidance of the state. Indeed, in the past the state intervened deliberately only when such major events as natural disasters, wars or great fires disrupted the process to such an extent that recovery required its help and supervision.

Even so, "urban renewal" would normally have meant little more than building and urban development in a rather narrow sense: the construction of new streets, canals and squares.

Urban renewal, as currently defined in the Netherlands, is distinguished by three features: the scope of the work undertaken, its speed and the extent of state involvement.

In current thinking, urban renewal is not limited to the modification in a particular way of the layout of buildings and streets: on the contrary, the concept is now a very broad one, covering not only town-planning and architecture - our visible built-up environment - but also important elements of a social, cultural and economic nature. This fact finds expression in the definition given in Section 1 of the Urban Renewal Bill, which reflects the multi-faceted nature of the modern concept of urban renewal - a concept which more and more closely approaches that of "integrated planning" as described, for example, by the De Wolff Commission (1970-1971, 10914). According to its function, planning is divided both "horizontally" ("sectorplanning") (into such fields as traffic and transport, water supplies, energy, house building, education and social and cultural facilities, some of which are dealt with below) and "vertically" ("facetplanning") (under the headings of economic planning, land-use planning and social and cultural planning: the first two of these are quite highly developed in the Netherlands, but the third is still at an elementary stage).

Section 1, sub-section 1, of the new Bill defines "urban renewal" as the systematic work, both in the sphere of town-planning and in social, economic and cultural fields, of maintaining, restoring, improving and, where necessary, partially or comprehensively redeveloping the centres of towns and cities and the surrounding urban areas and other built-up centres of social activity.

Urban renewal concerns the whole range of human settlements, from large to small: renewal may be necessary even in the smallest village. However, the previous government gave priority to solving the problems of the cities: it is above all the rate at which inner city areas are decaying that causes so much concern.

In its 1970 report on city-centre policy ("Kernbeleid"), Utrecht Municipal Council points to the various causes of the great changes affecting the character of the old town: the causes are fundamental and they are of a technical, economic and social nature. Among the factors to which the report refers is the falling population of the city centre. Groningen Municipal Council's 1970 report on planning aims ("Doeleindennota") speaks of similar problems: inner city decay occasions the departure of organizations and individuals and the consequent impoverishment of social and cultural life. In its 1973 discussion paper on the city centre ("Discussienota Binnenstad"), Maastricht Municipal Council points out that the centre's traditional trading and market function is being eroded by changing patterns of distribution.

Houses of historic significance not infrequently suffer from neglect and decay. In a report produced in 1973, Haarlem Municipal Council also speaks of rapid decay. A move to new housing areas cannot always provide the solution for inner city dwellers: often it must be sought in the older districts themselves. The directors of the four largest cities' Urban Development Departments produced a report, also in 1973, on the cities as problem areas ("De steden als probleemgebied"), which sets out in detail the various causes of decay. One of the points made is that the inner city areas are suffering a serious loss of functions as a result of what is happening. In its 1974 budget report, Amsterdam City Executive writes that the entire city is subject to wear and tear: not only the buildings themselves but also the roads, streets, footpaths, cycle paths, embankments, bridges and such hidden features as the sewers.

The first conclusion of all these reports is that the city centres should continue to service the whole expanding urban area. Great efforts must be made to maintain and improve the housing in the nineteenth and early twentieth-century districts, in the context of the desired city structure and the facilities needed for a satisfactory residential environment.

All this was what prompted the Bill's promoters to stress the extent of state involvement as a feature of urban renewal, describing the latter at one point as "a wide-ranging and integrated intervention by the state, aimed at planned action; the state must provide both the legislative framework and the necessary finance and must promote the development of appropriate organizational structures". The state will need to adopt a comprehensive approach to urban renewal, taking account of all aspects of economic and social development, education, cultural matters, health and so on. Such an approach is feasible only if the municipalities, as the parties most directly involved, feel themselves supported by central government. No less necessary is a large measure of participation on the part of all those who live or work in the areas which will be affected by renewal.

II. Essential features of the legislation

The Urban Renewal Bill is intended to supplement the Town and Country Planning Act, since urban renewal cannot be dissociated from town and country planning in general: both aim at the "best possible adaptation to one another of environment and society, in the interest of the latter". Urban renewal has clear links with, for example, the growth of suburbs and developments further afield, and the effects are reciprocal.

To ensure the adquate co-ordination of urban renewal schemes with town and country planning in general, the first requirement is that the procedures to which measures in the two fields are subject should fit in with one another in such a way that they form a coherent whole. This must be reflected in legislation. In future, then, when urban renewal is undertaken, our first recourse must be to the powers already afforded by the Town and Country Planning Act and the Housing Act, in particular when the measures involved are not especially urgent, expensive or radical. These two acts cover all that is necessary: compulsory purchase powers, powers to plan land use in detail and to issue the requisite orders, powers to order the improvement or demolition of houses and other buildings, and so on, as well as the procedures for obtaining central government grants. Only in circumstances where these powers prove insufficient can use be made of the provisions of the new urban renewal legislation.

The structure plan forms the foundation for urban renewal: it is defined in the Town and Country Planning Act and Decree as "a plan, in the form of statements, explanations and maps, showing the medium-term consequences of municipal policies for the pattern of land use and covering the whole territory of the municipality or at least its built-up part". The social aspects of urban renewal policies may also be covered as a separate element in the structure plan. Urban renewal plans must fit in with the overall development of a village, town or city as set out in the structure plan: failure to take account of the structure plan and the implementation of unco-ordinated redevelopment or improvement schemes would be very likely to interfere with the satisfactory development of the area as a whole.

Structure plans ("structuurplannen") and district plans ("streekplannen") outline what is felt to be the most desirable course of development for the longer term; they contain no provisions binding on the citizen. In recent years this fact has led to a move away from the production of visions of the future in map form, and certain municipalities now provide accounts of their planning principles and aims which the maps serve at most to illustrate.

According to the Bill's promoters, urban renewal must be undertaken on a certain scale if it is to be effective: the improvement or renewal of separate properties scattered across a town is clearly insufficient. The new Bill therefore covers plans and measures which have a collective impact in that they cover a number of properties, which may or may not have different owners, with the aim of renewing or improving them as a whole: in the past such plans have been difficult to implement.

III. The Powers

The previous government felt that the state should take on a comprehensive range of responsibilities and that it therefore needed a complex of powers adequate for any situation. A basis for such a complex of powers was laid in the Housing Ministry's decree (Staatsblad 1969, 87) governing grants for reconstruction and redevelopment plans, which provided mainly for grants in connection with demolition. Also relevant are the same Ministry's orders governing housing and residential area improvement grants (1969) and restoration grants (1971). Other ministries have also taken supportive measures.

The Urban Renewal Bill falls into three parts. First, it provides for one general measure which, together with existing powers, can be applied anywhere (i.e. not only in the specially designated renewal areas): this is the "environmental ordinance" ("leefmilieuverordening"). Second, it enables special areas to be designated where extra measures, both legal and financial, can be taken with a view to restoration and improvement in the broadest sense. Third, it provides for the preparation of detailed development plans for the specially designated areas: the nature of these plans will depend on the needs of the "action area" concerned. Two types of detailed development plan are envisaged, the improvement plan ("verbeteringsplan") and the comprehensive redevelopment plan ("herindelingsplan").

Three other measures of general applicability were planned by the previous government, and Bills to introduce them were placed before Parliament.

1. Right of first refusal

A Bill was submitted on 4th December, 1975 (1975-1976 session, 13713) to give municipal councils first refusal in cases where (leaving aside certain special factors) the owner of designated land wished to dispose of it. The land in question must be included in a local development plan or in a structure plan indicating its future use and the planned use, which may not be agricultural, must differ from the present use. The Urban Renewal Bill would supplement this general regulation by giving municipal councils first refusal on all land, whatever plans exist or are envisaged for it, within an area designated for renewal.

2. Improvement orders

An amendment to the Housing Act, submitted to Parliament on 3rd March, 1976 (1975-1976 session, 13835), would give municipal councils the right - among other things - to require house owners to make improvements. This regulation too would be supplemented by the Urban Renewal Bill. In the context of an improvement or comprehensive redevelopment plan (i.e. in areas designated for renewal) more comprehensive improvement orders may be issued and non-residential buildings may be included.

3. Rents for improved residential property

A Bill (13836) was presented to Parliament at the same time as the amendment to the Housing Act which was concerned with the rent charged for improved property: this Bill would empower the Housing Minister to fix rents on residential property which had been improved with a government grant or following an improvement order.

A major feature of the Urban Renewal Bill is that it commits the state in principle to giving municipalities financial assistance with urban renewal at an early stage, namely when the designation of an area for renewal is approved. This commitment may stretch over several years and involve several ministries, which means that for the particular area the municipality can depend for a given period on the co-ordinated financial assistance of the ministries concerned with urban renewal. Of great significance here is the government's decision, following the recommendation of the committee studying the financial consequences of urban redevelopment, that the grants will cover the full difference between the expenditure and revenue involved in the implementation of the actual renewal plans. The items of expenditure and revenue to be taken into account will be determined at a later date and will eventually be laid down in a general administrative order issued under the new legislation.

A broad range of people are affected by urban renewal schemes: in fact, all the inhabitants of a village, town or city can be considered to be involved in one way or another. Those most immediately involved fall into two categories: (a) central and local government, and in particular the municipal authority and its various departments, and (b) the owners, users and tenants of the various properties and real estate in the areas designated for renewal. While government authorities have long exercised great influence over the preparation and implementation of urban renewal schemes and indeed have taken all the decisions, the influence of the individuals affected has traditionally been small. Only recently has the idea gained acceptance that those who live or work in areas scheduled for improvement or redevelopment - whether or not they are property-owners there - are the people who have the greatest right to take part in making decisions on matters which concern them directly.

To ensure that the people directly involved have the opportunity of influencing the preparation and implementation of renewal measures, the Bill's promoters wished to accord public participation a clear place in it, dividing the process into several phases.

The legislation relating to urban renewal can be divided into three categories:

(1) Existing legislation.
    (a) The decree governing grants in connection with reconstruction and redevelopment plans (1969), which provides for grants following demolition - the "80% scheme".
    (b) The order governing home improvement grants (1977).
    (c) The order governing urban renewal grants (1977).
    (d) Various regulations covering limited aspects of the subject and applied by ministries other than the Housing Ministry.
    (e) The Town and Country Planning Act 1965.
    (f) The Housing Act 1962.
    (g) The Compulsory Purchase Act 1851.
    (h) The Monuments and Historic Buildings Act 1961.

(2) New legislation other than the Urban Renewal Bill.
    (a) The 1975 Bill to give municipal councils first refusal in certain property transactions.
    (b) The 1976 Bill amending the Housing Act by increasing the power of municipal councils to require the owners of residential property to make improvements.
    (c) The 1976 Bill governing rents for improved dwellings.

(3) New instruments under the 1976 Urban Renewal Bill.

   (a) The environmental ordinance aimed at preventing and reversing decay.

   (b) The power to designate urban areas for renewal.

   (c) The improvement plan.

   (d) The comprehensive redevelopment plan.

   (e) The urban renewal corporation.

The procedure involved in the exercise of these powers is summarised below:

(1) The municipal council may draw up a structure plan (under the Town and Country Planning Act) or a decree setting out the principles of its urban renewal policy and indicating the area which would be affected.

(2) The municipal council's decree is submitted to the Provincial Executive and to the Minister of Housing and Physical Planning for approval and for the designation of the renewal area. Central government declares its willingness in principle to provide funds.

(3) If the area in question does not require extensive redevelopment, the municipal council may draw up an improvement plan indicating which properties are to be improved and what must be done to them and how. Welfare provisions and the financial consequences must also be pointed out. Such plans also cover the combination or separation of dwellings and the organization of temporary or permanent accommodation for the inhabitants.

(4) If the area would be radically altered by reconstruction and/or redevelopment, the municipal council may prepare a comprehensive redevelopment plan: while this plan is of the same nature as a local development plan (under the Town and Country Planning Act), it requires the approval of the Minister.

(5) The municipal council may issue an environmental ordinance: this may be done independently of the plans listed above, particularly if the urban decay in question can be reversed without the use of an

improvement or comprehensive redevelopment plan. The ordinance may prohibit or prescribe certain actions by means of licences to build or demolish.

(6) Compulsory purchase takes place in the name of the municipal council. It may go ahead in the interest of urban renewal without the statutory declaration beforehand that it is "in the public interest".

(7) House-owners and people who live in a particular district may set up an urban renewal corporation which then receives every assistance from government authorities, officials and experts, as well as financial support. The municipal council retains the right of decision. The existing house-building corporations may play an important part here.

(8) General administrative orders may be issued covering assistance to firms in connection with their continued operation, relocation or winding up.

IV. Parliamentary procedures; criticisms of the proposals

As was noted in the introduction, the Urban Renewal Bill has completed part of its passage through Parliament. The special parliamentary commission has produced its final report, which contains serious and searching criticisms. Various advisory councils and the housing associations' two umbrella organizations also have major objections to the proposals. The criticisms can be summarised as follows:

(1) The Bill proposes no really new powers: almost all the measures envisaged are already provided for in one form or another in existing acts, decrees and general administrative orders.

(2) The procedures are only made more complex, with the result that councillors and officials are less likely than ever to be able to find their way through the maze of regulations.

(3) The new legislation would not be generally applicable but would cover only certain large towns.

(4) The new system of regulations and procedures only leads to unnecessary centralization.

(5) The Bill is really only a policy document advocating an approach characterised by (a) a stress on the small scale, (b) a preference for the maintenance and restoration of what already exists, and (c) a desire for public participation.

The Bill is to be debated in Parliament this Spring: we shall then see how much weight is attached to the criticisms and whether the Bill is passed, perhaps with major amendments, rejected or even withdrawn.

V. Special themes for attention

The Netherlands' basic policies, particular emphasis and possible policy changes have been indicated above; what follows is a series of comments following the suggestions of the Secretariat.

(a) Government and private-sector relationships

The general procedure in the Netherlands involves some kind of plan (structure, local government, improvement or comprehensive redevelopment) which is submitted to public criticism with opportunities being provided for objections and appeals, and which has to be approved by at least two of the three tiers of government (central, provincial and municipal). Under the new Bill, urban renewal plans would require central government approval: its promoters considered this necessary as central government would provide the finance.

How do national government policies and programmes stimulate and influence private investment?

In 1968 the Ministry of Economic Affairs introduced a regulation under which individual businessmen with small and medium-sized firms who were affected by urban renewal programmes received financial aid for development or to enable them to wind up their business. Section 60 of the Urban Renewal Bill states that financial or other assistance may be given by means of a general administrative order "if this is necessary to achieve the aims of the urban renewal scheme"; the assistance - in the form of loans, guarantees on interest and amortisation payments, lump-sum payments or recurring payments - may be for the continued operation, relocation or winding up of the firm. This assistance is not a form of compensation and is given only to already established firms: no provision is made for the encouragement of new firms as this did not fit in with the philosophy of the Bill's promoters. The statement published with the Bill (already quoted from) points out that "since the primary aim of urban renewal is the improvement of living conditions, the presence of firms in the areas designated for renewal must clearly be examined from the point of view of the inhabitants". The Bill's first section also stresses "maintenance, restoration and improvement, with partial or comprehensive redevelopment only where necessary".

The normal regulations apply as regards housing. However, the emphasis on conservation and the small-scale means that large building projects will be infrequent and land and buildings costs consequently relatively high. The annual contribution from central government (the "bricks and mortar" grant) can be increased. The location grant can be used to overcome the problem of high land prices.

The various ministries operate a large variety of regulations governing services, education, community development and health. The Monuments and Historic Buildings Act 1961 provides for the protection of buildings which are over fifty years old by listing them or placing them in the Register of Monuments and Historic Buildings. Grants may be provided by any of the three tiers of government.

(b) Local City Involvement

As will be clear from the above, the Bill's raison d'être lay in its promoters' conviction that the wishes of the inhabitants of the areas designated for renewal should be heard and if possible acted upon. The planning procedures allow for extensive public participation and an appeal to the Crown. The work of the urban renewal corporations involves public participation at the planning stage. Current practice is already moving in this direction: the near ubiquitous district associations ("wijkverenigingen") are enabled by municipal councils to work directly on the preparation of plans.

(c) The wider-area context

Whatever form urban renewal takes, the shrinking family (with fewer members living together in the same house), and the fact that higher expectations in the "renewed" area mean a reduction in the number of homes, must inevitably entail, on balance, a loss of population. Those who leave must be built new accommodation elsewhere. New towns in the Netherlands have almost all been developed around existing settlements. If a new urban area is to be developed, it is always separated from the original town or city by a green belt: this helps to counter urban sprawl. The stress is shifting increasingly away from planned dispersal to new suburbs and towards concentration within existing city regions ("stadsgewesten").

The high cost of travel and transport facilities and other amenities and the failure of employment opportunities to move with the people compel the more intensive use of existing space.

PROBLEMES DES CENTRES DES VILLES

par l'Ing. J. Correia da Cunha, Portugal

1. Au niveau national. En abordant les problèmes communs à la plupart des grandes villes, trois facteurs d'importance significative sont à retenir pour expliquer la situation portugaise actuelle : la transition vers un régime démocratique avec sa problématique politique, économique et sociale; l'afflux de milliers de portugais arrivés à la suite de la décolonisation; le retour récent d'un grand nombre d'émigrants. Ces facteurs ont contribué à l'aggravation des problèmes traditionnels des centres des villes, tels que la circulation, l'interaction de fonctions et habitudes, le poids économique et la grande densité de la population non résidente.

Il résulte de ce préambule que l'évolution concentrique régulière, typique des grandes villes (susceptible d'orientation, de programmation et de planification) a subi l'influence de nouveaux facteurs qui ont introduit des altérations significatives : les zones dégradées de la périphérie, par exemple, ont été tout d'un coup surchargées par une population manquant de logement. Les programmes et les politiques habitationnels, qui essayaient de résoudre les insuffisances de logement ont échoué dans leurs efforts, dû à la stagnation de la construction civile, les buts préalablement envisagés ne pouvant pas être atteints.

Il faut encore préciser quelques caractéristiques importantes communes aux grandes villes portugaises :

(a) Ces villes se situent près de la côte en des zones portuaires d'estuaire;

(b) leurs centres, en expansion, suivent les lignes de plus grande mobilité, accompagnant les réseaux les plus importants;

(c) normalement elles sont à l'origine de noyaux périphériques qui fonctionnent comme des dortoirs peu autonomes et mal équipés;

(d) puisqu'elles sont des villes historiques, leurs centres sont soumis à des paramètres de protection et de législation réglementaires.

2. Rapports gouvernement-secteur privé. Quel est le rapport entre les politiques gouvernementales et les activités du secteur privé ?

L'Assemblée de la République a promulgué, en juin 1977, une loi délimitant le secteur public et le secteur privé : au secteur privé sont interdites, entre autres, les activités économiques concernant la production, le transport et la distribution d'énergie électrique, gaz et eau pour le ravitaillement du public à travers des réseaux fixes; l'assainissement de base; les communications postales et télégraphiques; les transports aériens et ferroviaires; les transports publics collectifs urbains, à l'exception des automobiles légères.

Un code des expropriations, basé sur l'utilité publique, a été approuvé en décembre 1976, envisageant la limitation de la spéculation des sols urbains et permettant l'appropriation des terrains et des immeubles nécessaires aux travaux d'intérêt national à réaliser par l'Etat.

Quelles sont les zones exclusivement de la responsabilité du gouvernement ?

Sont de la responsabilité exclusive du gouvernement les zones portuaires, les aéroports et les cités universitaires. A Lisbonne, l'installation d'un Centre administratif est à l'étude, lequel engloberait tous les services officiels principaux.

Comment stimulent et influencent les politiques et les programmes du gouvernement l'investissement privé aux centres des villes ?

Les centres des villes portuaires sont généralement établis en des terrains appartenant aux municipalités pour des raisons, notamment, de protection du patrimoine artistique, historique et culturel. L'initiative privée doit suivre un plan directeur mis en exécution dans les villes principales. Ce plan oriente l'aménagement des villes par zones notamment en ce qui concerne l'établissement des grandes entreprises, du commerce et de l'industrie.

Les municipalités possèdent une législation selon laquelle elles peuvent faire reconstruire ou ravaler des immeubles particuliers dégradés, ces derniers étant passibles de financement public.

Comment encourage et influence le gouvernement la participation directe du citoyen local à la solution des problèmes des villes ?

Les organisations volontaires sont appelées souvent à participer activement aux politiques concernant les centres des villes, se prononçant aussi bien sur les problèmes et les tâches qui les regardent, c'est-à-dire spécifiques, que sur leur intervention dans les plans directeurs des villes.

Dans le secteur du tourisme, elles sont également appelées à donner leur collaboration.

A présent, les autorités locales ont force légale pour soumettre à l'approbation des entités officielles des projets d'appropriation du sol, dont le but est l'expansion urbaine ou l'utilité publique.

Quelles sont les effets des mesures entreprises aux centres sur les aires adjacentes ?

Sur le plan des transports, la création et l'utilisation intensive d'un réseau de parcs de stationnement associées à l'interdiction de certaines voies à la circulation automobile et à l'établissement de couloirs destinés aux transports publics, ont permis un certain glissement et une amélioration sensible de la circulation en général.

Quant à la préservation et à la protection de l'environnement, il faut signaler les études faites sur la pollution sonore et les campagnes d'éducation de la communauté en ce qui concerne cette dernière.

3. Problèmes des centres des villes

Le centre - Les fonctions de direction et de décision, le commerce et les affaires, l'administration publique et privée y sont concentrés. Le centre se caractérise par un commerce très spécialisé établi au niveau du sol, par une grande densité de bureaux et par une suroccupation habitationnelle de foyers surannés.

Le déclin du centre s'accentue comme zone traditionnelle : la recherche d'espace conditionne le prix qu'obtient un marché plus facile et rentable dans la zone économique des affaires que dans les investissements en habitations.

Déplacement des populations - L'accroissement de la rentabilité du terrain destiné à tout type de placement tertiaire au détriment de l'habitation, l'augmentation, en général, de la population, la difficulté d'accès et la dégradation de la qualité de la vie donnent lieu aux déplacements de la population, dont la résidente vit au niveau de sous-location ou suroccupation, en des foyers ou des hôtels installés dans les aires les plus dégradées de la ville.

Transformation des centres - Due à l'expansion du secteur tertiaire vers les nouveaux axes, des immeubles habitables sont démolis pour être remplacés par des structures commerciales humainement plus denses, aggravant ainsi les problèmes urbains jusqu'à des situations de rupture.

Les ethnies - Des travailleurs des anciennes colonies ainsi que des immigrants et la population rurale, qui pour la première fois affluent aux villes, s'entassent en des quartiers périphériques afin de s'occuper de tâches suburbaines plus rudes.

Ils habitent les zones de transition les plus abandonnées.

La circulation urbaine - L'embouteillage est général au niveau de volume de la circulation des véhicules et des piétons.

Pôles d'attraction - Il y a encore des endroits définis par plusieurs tendances, comme celles de la loi de l'offre et de la recherche, de l'accessibilité, des activités spécifiques (industrielles, portuaires) et des activités antagoniques (industrielles et résidentielles).

Equipements et services - La croissante densité humaine et immobilière des zones centrales provoque des problèmes ponctuels de ravitaillement (eau) et d'assainissement (égouts, eaux usées, eau de pluie).

4. Mesures entreprises

(a) Protection des centres historiques, touristiques et culturels (périmètres de protection - non aeddificandi).

(b) Rénovation d'édifices avec la participation de l'Etat.

(c) Prospection et récupération des espaces et du paysage urbain.

(d) Plans directeurs disciplinaires de l'accroissement des villes.

(e) Mesures spéciales de protection aux transports publics et commerciaux et circulation de piétons.

(f) Création et diffusion de réseaux de parcs de stationnement.

(g) Développement de pôles d'attraction (Shopping Centers), décentralisateurs d'activités et régulateurs de la circulation.

(h) Etudes sur la pollution sonore et campagnes de sensibilisation de la population.

(i) Implantation d'un réseau de surveillance de la pollution atmosphérique.

(j) Etude de la gestion des déchets, en vue de la proposition de solutions technologiques à leur utilisation; étude de mesures législatives.

PROBLEMS OF INNER CITIES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

discussion paper prepared by the United Kingdom

The inner areas of Britain's major conurbations have been losing population rapidly: one fifth being lost in a decade. Traditional economic activities of these areas decline, and the new activities favoured other locations. There has thus been emptying out, or "decentralization", of population and jobs.

In the inner areas of the main British cities we can observe some or all of the following problems:

(i) large concentrations of multiply deprived individuals caught in poverty, poor housing, poor educational attainment, poor job opportunities and unemployment; in some cities these individuals include many members of ethnic minorities;

(ii) deprived areas, seen as decaying housing stock, bad and vandalised environment shortage of parks and play space, but often areas of derelict or spoilt land;

(iii) some local council housing estates, recently built but already showing all the signs of social malaise;

(iv) problems of crime, hooliganism and violence;

(v) local councils with declining independent resources, tackling growing problems;

(vi) a failure of land-use planning - families with children in tower blocks, areas left vacant by urban redevelopment.

On the other hand the inner cities have seen successes: notably in the replacement of slums with modern dwellings (despite the failures of planning) and in the enormous benefits to health and amenity from clean air legislation, in the new opportunities some families have found in the planned development of new towns. And a system of central government support for local council finances has been created which has brought relief to councils and particularly to the cities.

Yet serious problems and disadvantages remain, and these need to be set in the context of demographic and economic change - particularly in the conurbations and other big cities.

This paper considers first the nature of the problems in Britain's main inner cities, then the relationship of government policy with them, and finally the recent policy initiative by the UK Government. It contributes the UK reply to the three areas of discussion suggested in the Annex to Notice AC/274-N/70. The paper draws particularly upon a UK Government publication of June 1977 which announced the new policy initiative: the "White Paper" entitled "Policy for the Inner Cities".

The Nature of the Problem

While area problems are a feature of many of our older towns they are at their most serious in the major cities and conurbations. The sheer scale is greater. The inner areas of Glasgow, Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester/Salford each contain over a quarter of a million people and inner London is very much larger. Each of them still has a heavy legacy of old housing, lacking modern amenities, and of outworn industrial, commercial and educational buildings in need of repair, renewal or improvement.

Between 1961 and 1971 (the date of the last census) the inner areas of the conurbations of London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester and Newcastle lost 20% of their population; in Liverpool the loss was over 30%. Inner Glasgow lost 37% between 1961 and 1971. This in the "decentralization" of population which has been an important feature of the inner cities and which has been brought about partly by families seeking a better life outside the cities, partly by the influence of government policy (mentioned below).

In addition to the population loss is the decline in the economic fortunes of the inner areas. The Government's White Paper noted that, compared with their conurbations, the main inner areas suffer from higher unemployment at all stages of the economic cycle. In inner areas generally a mismatch has developed between the skills of the people and the kinds of job available. In some cities such as Glasgow and Liverpool, there is a general lack of demand for labour which affects the whole conurbation but is particularly severe in the inner areas.

The inner areas have long had more than the national proportions of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, the groups among whom unemployment is highest. In 1971, for example, unskilled and semi-skilled men accounted for 38% of the labour force in inner Birmingham, 35% in inner Manchester and 34% in inner Glasgow, compared with 23% nationally. However, the loss from the cities of a higher proportion of skilled than less skilled workers has made the mismatch of skills worse and is a major factor in the higher rate of unemployment in inner city areas. Between 1966-1971 only 15% of net migrants from Birmingham comprised semi-skilled and unskilled workers; from Manchester it was only 16%. Most of those who left were skilled and managerial people.

At the same time, there has been a loss of jobs of the traditional kind for unskilled and semi-skilled workers: in the older service industries like the docks and the railways and in manufacturing industries. A large number of firms have closed, many of them small firms. Sometimes this has been brought about by redevelopment, when the firms have not found new premises in the area or have decided to go out of business for other reasons. Some firms have moved out of the inner cities to find better sites. But generally, the movement of firms has been a contributory factor, not a major cause of decline. In some areas the main cause of job losses has been the closure of large manufacturing firms and, more generally, the shrinkage in employment in larger firms.

There has not been enough investment in new manufacturing industry to counterbalance these job losses. As in the USA and some European countries, major new enterprises have tended to prefer peripheral locations to the inner city. The growth particularly in the central business district, of new service industries and office jobs, has benefited the inner cities broadly in line with the national trend, but the jobs created have been different in kind from those lost and have not benefited the unskilled and semi-skilled there.

The most characteristic of physical features of the inner city is the age of its buildings. In its White Paper, the UK Government acknowledged that despite the extensive redevelopment and clearance of slum property since the war, by local councils, there still remains a great deal of poor quality housing lacking basic amenities, not in good repair and set in a drab environment. At the time of the 1971 census, in the inner London Borough of Newham as many as 45% of households lacked the exclusive use of the 3 basic amenities of an indoor WC, hot water and a bath.

In some cities the processes of clearance and redevelopment have got badly out of step: the slums have been demolished, or sites have been cleared for new roads or other developments but the rebuilding has lagged behind. For example a study in Liverpool found that in 1975 eleven per cent of land, in a neighbourhood of 60,000 people, was lying vacant and about half had been vacant for at least 2 years; but the problem is not unique to Liverpool. There have been many reasons for this (including financial economies, and changes of policy in the light of reassessments).

These environmental and physical deficiencies of inner cities, particularly when contrasted with better conditions elsewhere, make these areas unattractive, both to many of the people who live there and to new investment in business, industry and housing.

The inner areas of cities have a higher concentration of poor people. In addition to the higher unemployment, the level of earnings of those in employment tends to be lower and there may be large numbers of elderly people dependent upon pensions. Studies have shown how important work can be for married women in enabling families to move out of poverty - for example a study in Lambeth, London showed that for all age groups a much higher proportion of married women were working in the study area than for either Greater London or Great Britain. For those who are incapacitated, for the old, and for the unemployed, Government income support is of great importance. Whilst the UK Government would not introduce higher scales of benefit for people living in the inner cities, it does encourage the maximum take-up of benefits by people entitled to them.

The poorer residential areas, around the central business district, tend to serve as a refuge for those least able to cope in society. Amongst them are those without a permanent home of their own, those unable to sustain a job, those with personal problems such as alcoholism or drug addiction; over a wide area of the inner city there are often substantial numbers of such people, each requiring help and support.

Many inner area children reach the school leaving age with insufficient skills in reading, writing and handling figures to hold down satisfying jobs. Where jobs are scarce, some may feel that their education has been irrelevant to the real prospects they face; others find it difficult to identify with the purposes of the school. These attitudes may find expression in truancy and various other behavioural problems.

In some of the major cities the ethnic minority communities, like all other immigrants before them, have tended to settle in the inner areas - in parts of inner London and inner Birmingham for instance where at the 1971 census over 10% of households were of New Commonwealth origin (which approximates roughly to a definition of ethmic minorities). Other cities, such as Glasgow and Newcastle, have fewer than 1% of households of New Commonwealth origin. There are, on the other hand, sizeable ethnic minority communities in the outer parts of some cities and in many smaller cities and towns such as Bradford, Blackburn, Leicester, Wolverhampton, Bedford and Slough. In Britain, therefore, inner area problems and the problems facing ethnic minorities are associated but by no means co-terminous.

Major Policies and the Inner City

The UK Government's White Paper, last year, put these problems in the context of demographic and economic changes. Some of these changes could be reversed only with great difficulty or at unacceptable cost, but some of the movement of jobs and people has been facilitated by policies aimed at reducing the overcrowding of the older parts of the conurbations or large cities.

During the 1960s and 1970s concern grew in the UK about the problems of declining urban areas and the inner areas of the large cities in particular. There was a series of reports by commissions of inquiry into particular policies, such as the Plowden Committee on children and their schools, which gave particular attention to deprivation in urban areas. There were studies of the problems of particular inner cities, such as those made of the redevelopment of London's Docklands, and the wide-ranging studies of inner Liverpool, inner Birmingham and Lambeth in London. Many local councils committed themselves to corporate management and experimental ideas in local administration were practiced and reports published on these; they have a variety of names (community development projects, area management trials, deprived area projects, comprehensive community programmes) and had varying emphasis upon community involvement and management of public services. The national census of 1971 provided an invaluable service of information about urban problems which was subjected to close analysis in the following years (regrettably the census planned for 1976 was cancelled).

For the last 20 or 30 years central and local government have implemented policies to remove inner city slums, reduce housing densities, provide out-of-town council housing estates and sites for new industry, develop planned new towns, build motorways for travel between cities. The decentralization of population and jobs, described above, is partly attributable to private preferences: families seeking homes in the suburbs or beyond, industry seeking larger sites for expansion or access to motorways, offices obtaining cheaper sites. However, the process has been greatly reinforced by government policies.

A major direct influence of government upon the inner cities is, in the UK, in housing provision. About one-third of all homes are now rented from the local councils (the proportion is much higher in Scotland) and local authorities have powers to assist in the improvement of housing in private ownership and to lend money for the purchase of private homes. Action by local councils has cleared sub-standard housing, built new homes (some for sale), improved old premises, and has made a very considerable improvement in the quality of housing. Privately rented housing which constitutes a significant percentage of the stock in some inner city areas has been in historical decline. Much of the remaining stock in this sector is in a poor state of repair and measures to arrest the decay are being considerd currently in a comprehensive review of legislation relating to rented accommodation. In the 1970s there has been a greater emphasis on rehabilitation rather than redevelopment to revitalise those areas, although in some cases slum clearance remains the only economic option. And the Government is concerned to develop a more balanced mix of types of tenure, through encouraging home ownership for example, and the growth of housing associations.

Least susceptible to government influence is the field of employment. More employment and more suitable employment is needed if the decentralization of the cities is to be arrested or reversed and here the rôle of the private sector is crucial. The Government cannot direct that this happens and must work by influence and persuasion. For regional policy purposes there have been controls and incentives to influence the location of industry but these have not distinguished the inner cities from the rest of their region. Strict control by councils of land-use (for environmental reasons) has in the past discouraged much industry in the inner areas; this is now being relaxed. Highway construction within the cities has improved access to the motorways but the processes of planning and construction have too often posed a threat to existing firms in affected premises, while individual work places have been given insufficient help with difficulties over site-access, parking and traffic density. Manpower policies for training and placement have not, until recently, had any special regard to the inner cities.

Government policies for education, health and welfare are important for the residents of inner cities as for people living elsewhere. It is worth noting particularly that schools and colleges have both an important educational and a wider social rôle in inner areas both as institutions and through their buildings and facilities. However many inner area schools are old, on cramped sites, and lacking in essential facilities, and need to be modernised or replaced. Many contain a higher than average proportion of disadvantaged children. While the motivation of children is important, the performance of the education service depends also upon the strength of the teaching force and it is necessary for all children, and especially for the disadvantaged minorities, that quality is developed through effective training.

New Policy for the Inner Cities

The studies and policy developments of the 1960s and 1970s led to a new appreciation of inner city problems. The implications of the decentralization of population and jobs, if it continued, were seen to be serious. A new emphasis was placed upon jobs and the local economy, and the needs of the inner city were seen in the context of the conurbation and beyond. It was recognised that the needs of the inhabitants of the inner areas required more co-ordinated action than in the past. In 1976 the UK Government undertook a major, ministerial, review of its policies towards the inner city areas, and a new framework was announced in the White Paper of June 1977.

Key objectives of the new policies are to strengthen the economies of the inner city areas and to check the decentralization of population and jobs. The emphasis is particularly upon the inner areas of the major conurbations. Further development of the new towns has been assessed in the light of lower demographic forecasts and of the part they play in assisting the conurbations and their region at large. Long-term population targets for the more recent new towns have been reduced, which will permit some resources to be redeployed for the benefit of inner city renewal, but the momentum of new town development will be maintained for the next seven or eight years.

Inside the cities, policies will be directed to achieving a more balanced structure of population in the various localities, thereby reducing the mismatch between the skills of the people and the kinds of jobs available. Local councils will be encouraged to take account of employment prospects when preparing their housing investment programmes which as part of new financial system for housing, will be submitted to central government annually. For example, more dwellings for owner-occupation, or through housing associations may encourage skilled workers to stay in or move into the inner cities. Local councils could co-operate in wider schemes for council tenants to move from one area to another, so that low-skilled workers might move more easily to places with better job opportunities while others, with jobs in the inner city, might move closer to their work. In some inner areas sustained action by councils is still needed to overcome homelessness and overcrowding where there are serious shortages of housing, while in most inner cities the legacy of old housing stock requires a continuation of the present policies on improvement and rehabilitation.

In policies towards industry and employment, special attention will be given to the problems of inner cities. For example controls and incentives that influence the location of industry have been adapted. The distinction made between regions has been unaffected by this, but an inner city emphasis within each region will ensure that, in the assisted areas, employers are encouraged to consider inner area sites and that new sites and industrial premises are available, while in London and the West Midlands the system of certificates to control industrial development now gives precedence to selected inner areas over the new and expanding towns in the relevant region. Local councils are being encouraged to adapt their practices (in transport, planning environment, housing, etc.) to look after existing firms, including small businesses whose needs have tended to be overlooked, and to encourage new enterprise. Legislation has been prepared to give selected councils, with serious inner city problems, additional powers to make small loans and grants to attract employers to inner areas and to assist existing firms. The development of service and office employment in the inner areas around them will be encouraged so that employment may increase.

The higher proportion of unskilled and semi-skilled people in the inner areas points to the need for some change in manpower policies to meet the employment and training needs of inner area residents. The Employment Services Agency is introducing an experimental service of counselling and assessment for those with special employment needs in which the inner areas of cities will figure largely. The Training Services Agency will seek wherever possible to tailor its courses (including those at further education colleges) to meet the specific requirements of people in inner areas. An inner area emphasis is being given to special programmes of temporary employment and work experience for young people, to mitigate the effects of the economic recession.

The key aim of the new policy is to restore business confidence in the inner cities. The intention is that this should be achieved partly by improvements to the environment, through local councils, in the belief that the depressed physical environment is itself a discouragement to employers; in particular councils will be able to declare local "industrial improvement areas" for concentrated action to improve visual amenities in industrial areas of predominantly old premises.

Moreover, in the inner areas surrounding the central business district, there can be problems about land which has fallen into disuse; it can be costly to redevelop, and there is often a general lack of demand for such sites. Many inner areas have a great deal of land lying unused, often derelict, combined with a shortage of available sites for industry. Most of the unused land is in public ownership, and better management of this estate is a major priority of government policy. This means the earlier release of sites for development, and cosmetic treatment of land which is necessarily held vacant for future contingencies. In a number of areas a review of public sector sites is to be made, with the help of local councils and public sector agencies to discover the extent of vacant sites in the public sector and see what action can be taken to bring them into use. The cost of developing inner city sites, with their old buildings and foundations, can sometimes prohibit private investment. Some councils have recently disposed of sites, at a loss, to developers of private housing and the experiment may be repeated by others; new legislation may shortly give councils in some areas, yet to be selected, the power to make loans, interest free for up to two years, to help industrialists to develop sites.

In its White Paper the UK Government announced new principles for the allocation of resources and organization of government in dealing with the inner cities. These principles are at the heart of the new policies.

Perhaps the central feature of the new approach is that the main policies and expenditure programme of central government and local government must be used to the full - and co-ordinated - in order to tackle the problems of inner areas effectively. These include industrial and manpower policies, financial support to local councils and the whole range of policies for education, health, personal social services, housing, transport and planning, together with the provision of a wide range of environmental services and improvements. The UK Government intend to ensure so far as practicable that their policies and programmes are given an inner area dimension and priority in order to assist the regeneration of these areas. Local councils too can do a great deal to redirect their policies to give greater assistance to inner areas and to bring a more co-ordinated approach. There is scope for making better use of resources and for pursuing policies of positive discrimination.

A central Government grant, the Urban Programme Grant has been used since 1968 to aid projects such as nursery schools, advice centres, social worker schemes. The resources available for this are now being expanded from under £30 m a year to £125 m a year; they are being concentrated upon selected areas, and the range of projects is being widened to include economic projects (such as preparation of sites, transport improvements) plus environmental and leisure projects.

In some countries there is concern about city government finances which are eroded both by rising costs of services and a declining property tax base. The UK also has to face these problems but there is a well-established tradition of central government financial support for local government. Local councils have an independent income principally from rates (a form of property tax) but nearly two thirds of local government annual income is derived in block grants from central government. Of these the principal grant attempts to compensate for differences in councils' per capita expenditure and for low taxable resources. The mechanics of the distribution of the grant is certainly not free from criticism but the principle of compensating for differences in per capita spending needs or for low resources is widely accepted. It gives British cities a secure financial base, roughly comparable from area to area, and with reasonable success it counteracts the special financial difficulties of councils in the inner cities.

The Government have offered special partnerships to a strictly limited number of councils to assist in the regeneration of inner city areas. Central government ministries and agencies will participate to underline the Government's commitment to the inner areas and to instil confidence in their future; this will help to bring national experience to bear and will work out ways of unifying the actions of central and local government. The initial task of the partnerships will be to draw up an inner area programme for early implementation, based on an analysis of local conditions. The programmes will analyse the whole range of problems (economic, environmental, social) and will examine the responsibilities in these fields of all the councils, ministries and agencies that subscribe to the partnership, looking forward three years at a time and being rolled forward annually. These inner area programmes will be supported by Urban Programme Grant but they will also help to indicate the priorities within the main policies and expenditure programmes of central and local government. For example, inner area programmes will be taken into account in settling block allocations of resources for housing, and the work of central government agencies will take account of programmes in whose preparation they will have had a hand. The results of the programmes will be monitored.

The Government gave careful thought to the selection of areas for partnership arrangements. The task was to identify areas with problems of the greatest intensity and scale, but there are no entirely objective criteria, comparable between one area and another, covering the whole span of problems - economic decline, physical decay and social stress. The Government made its choice on the evidence available and the inner areas of Newcastle/Gateshead, Liverpool, Manchester/Salford, Birminghan and three areas of inner London (one of them Docklands) were chosen for partnerships. Largely similar arrangements are being set up in three areas of Glasgow.

Simplified arrangements are being set up in 15 other cities, where the problems are not quite so severe. Here the local council will undertake itw own inner area programme which, as in the partnerships, will be an analysis of problems leading to a review of priorities and schemes for action. Some additional resources will also be made available to these cities.

Finally, involving local people is an emphasis in the new approach; this is both a necessary means to the regeneration of the inner areas and an end in its own right. The partnerships need to draw on the ideas of local residents to discover their priorities and enable them to play a practical part in reviewing their areas. Self-help is important and so is community effort. Some things will be better done, or done more satisfyingly, if they are undertaken by voluntary groups and bodies. Voluntary organizations and local representative groups do not have direct participation in the partnership committees, but some of the Urban Programme Grant will be channelled to local voluntary organizations (for welfare etc.) and for this purpose regular contacts have been established with voluntary organizations. Action will be taken to obtain the views of local people: through public advertisements inviting comments, occasional meetings, regular contacts with residents' spokesmen etc, and the inner area programmes will give recognition to the views of local people.

Although the policy has reached the stage of implementation there are gaps in our knowledge into which further research is needed. A public invitation was made to academics and others to submit proposals for research projects that would be funded by the Government. There was a massive response and a programme of 20 or so projects, that appear particularly worthwhile, is being worked up from this.

Conclusion

In the UK, therefore, a series of studies during the 1960s and 1970s and the lessons from policy developments during that period, culminated in a major review of policy for the inner cities in 1976-1977. The problems facing the inner areas and their residents are seen to embrace a wide range of economic, environmental and social aspects, and are most severe in the conurbations and big cities. The problems are interpreted against the background of the decentralization of population and jobs from the inner cities. There has been a reappraisal of the priorities of Government policies and expenditure programmes and new partnership arrangements with selected local councils will carry this down to the local level. Action is being taken, in different ways, to encourage greater business confidence in the inner city, and ways are being explored of involving voluntary bodies and local residents.

PROBLEMS OF INNER CITY AREAS IN THE UNITED STATES

discussion paper prepared by the United States

Table of contents

Introduction

I. Current Trends

II. Role of Governments

III. Two Decades of National Urban Programs and Their Impact

IV. Government and the Private Sector

V. Citizen Involvement

VI. The Regional Context

VII. Lessons Learned and Future Objectives

Appendix

PROBLEMS OF INNER CITY AREAS IN THE UNITED STATES

Introduction

Cities play a central role in the economic, political, social, and cultural life of a nation; they provide a critical mass of creativity that is a source of self-renewal. Inner city areas in the United States, traditionally the font of much of the dynamism in urban and surrounding areas, are facing serious challenges to their continued existence as constructive forces in our national life. Demographic, economic, and cultural trends set in motion following World War II have drastically eroded the vitality of many inner city areas. The negative impacts of these trends on American society have been recognized and are receiving priority attention by the national administration, working in conjunction with all levels of government in our federal system.

In the United States serious problems confront both large and small cities and not all cities are affected in the same way. Therefore our national definition of urban problems does not focus solely on the difficulties of large metropolitan core areas or "inner cities." As perceptions of the problems vary, so do preferences for solving them. Some may wish to attract industry back into cities in order to provide employment for low income groups in the city. Others may think it desirable to disperse the urban poor to suburban job and dwelling locations. Still others may wish to concentrate on the return of the middle class to cities and provision of an environment attractive to middle and upper income families. This discussion paper attempts to survey urban issues across the nation and address them in an integrated manner.

I. Current Trends

The difficulties and opportunities confronting inner city residents and businesses located there can best be seen as a reflection of forces of regional and metropolitan growth and decline. Rising incomes and government housing policies put a single family house within reach of many families and led to the booming growth of the suburbs in the 1950's and 1960's. The same prosperity that put so many families in their own houses made automobile ownership nearly universal and the two-car family became commonplace. As auto ownership spread, the federal government supported road building programs that gave the new suburbs easy access to the city and to the rest of the nation. Free to leave urban housing patterns based on mass transportation, large numbers of city dwellers dispersed into the low density pattern that has come to be known as "urban sprawl."

When people moved to the suburbs retailers followed the market, bringing on the rise of suburban shopping malls and the relative decline of the downtown retail districts. Manufacturing and warehousing activities that did not use bulk materials, and hence were not tied to rail or waterside locations, also began to leave for the suburbs. The rise of the truck as an inter-city freight carrier, combined with a work force that did not need public transportation, helped to make this possible. For many firms, cheaper suburban land made it possible to use more efficient horizontal structures for their manufacturing and storage activities rather than the vertical buildings dictated by high-priced downtown land.

While this metamorphosis was occurring, the quantum leap forward in the mechanization of southern agriculture sent a huge surge of rural migrants to the manufacturing cities of the northeast just as these cities were losing jobs to the suburbs. The consequent growth of an urban population with low incomes, high unemployment and poor housing conditions was followed by the now-familiar syndrome of rising rates of crime and drug usage. The fear of crime fed the negative perceptions of change and reinforced the trend of flight from the inner city.

Shifts of population and employment markedly accelerated in the 1970's. There is now strong evidence on hand of dramatic changes in inner city employment opportunity, population distribution and lack of new private investment. The concentrated, older urban areas, particularly of the northeastern and north central states have declined in population and in indicators of well-being. The contrary is true for large regions of the south and the west, and for the outlying parts of metropolitan areas in general. These trends, though of long-term origin, now are quite visibly reshaping our nation.

During the first five years of the 70's, the north and midwest suffered a dramatic decline in population, losing one and a half million people through migration. Of the nation's twenty largest metropolitan areas, all eleven in the northeast or north central states experienced net losses between 1970 and 1974, with New York losing well over half a million residents during this period. This pattern of migration has been characterized by the terms "sunbelt" and "frostbelt," where people and jobs have moved _from_ the frostbelt _to_ the sunbelt.

Generally, the shifts that have taken place are likely to continue. Although they have lessened some differences between regions, they have not been without major costs for many metropolitan areas and in particular their centers. The exodus of higher paid white collar workers in recent years has led to shifts in the relative income distribution; at the same time access to jobs has changed to the disadvantage of remaining city residents and in particular of minorities. Structural changes in employment opportunities, caused by industrial shifts, exacerbate the problem. Urban distress is clearly linked to loss of jobs, which in turn relates to uncertainties of national economic growth. These cannot be isolated from issues of fiscal imbalance and the political and administrative structures and procedures of local governments.

Rapid shifts of population and jobs away from older parts of metropolitan areas and whole regions signal a problem not just for the cities. Even many suburbs of older urban areas can no longer insulate their residents and businesses from the same conditions that assail their urban cores: deteriorating physical environments, increasing costs of health services, and loss of ground water protection and water supplies. The suburban reliance on the auto leads to serious problems of energy inefficiency and air pollution.

The following pages give the setting for this problem, outline some of the measures and approaches that are directed to its resolution, and conclude with observations on what has been learned from recent experience and where U.S. urban policy should be going. It should be kept in mind that in the changing nature of the inner city not all trends are negative. While this paper, in the context of the Round Table, focuses on problems, we should recognize that efforts at preserving the cultural flavor and traditions of neighborhoods, rehabilitation of old housing stock, experiments in alternative technologies, new community based self-help programs, and group commitments to solving local problems are signs of a society constructively coping with change.

II. Role of Governments

In the United States, public sector responsibility for the problems of inner city areas is shared among federal, state, county and city governments, with the last three having a high degree of autonomy. The precise allocation of responsibility to city and county varies from state to state and within states.

Virtually all city governments are responsible for services in the areas of public safety, cleaning, maintenance, and waste disposal. They exercise regulatory functions (land use planning, zoning, pollution control, building code enforcement, and traffic regulations) and provide recreational facilities. Educational services are provided by municipalities and special bodies they establish for this purpose. All levels of government, and quasi-public bodies, are active in certain functions, such as highway construction. The impact of higher level decisions on local jurisdictions can be profound, as when an interstate link bypasses a town. Defense is predominantly a national function, although here too effects on localities are enormous through the siting and operation of facilities and the procurement of goods and services.

Direct intervention of the federal government in state or local affairs is comparatively rare; rather, its role stems most frequently from the grants and subsidies provided by the federal government. Through its criteria for approving projects and through the conditions it may impose on grant recipients, the federal government exercises considerable, albeit limited, influence. The federal government also has a great deal of indirect effect on decision making in state and local governments and in the private sector through federal tax laws and through the many regulatory functions of the federal government. Working together, the national executive and legislative arms regulate fiscal and monetary policy. They create programs to alleviate cyclical and structural unemployment, encourage economic development nationally, as well as in distressed urban and rural areas, and provide income support and other services to the poor, disabled, elderly and unemployed.

Cities rely heavily upon property taxes and are hard hit by the growth patterns described earlier. Most state revenue comes from taxes on sales and income while federal income is derived mainly from income and excise taxes. States regulate the revenue and borrowing practices of their cities. Both they and the federal government make revenues available to local government through grants-in-aid (with matching requirements) for specified purposes. The federal government also dispenses block grants for broadly defined functional purposes and revenue sharing for purposes chosen by local governments themselves. Given the independence of central city and suburban governments, respective functions and revenues unfortunately relate more often to arbitrary definitions of geography rather than to any hard appraisal of needs or shared problems.

At the federal level, responsibility for urban policies and programs is divided among many executive branch agencies. The Department of Labor administers a large share of urban employment programs. The Department of Commerce directs economic development and public works programs; and the Department of Transportation administers highway, mass transit, and airport development programs. The Department of Housing and Urban Development is responsible for housing mortgage insurance, flood insurance and disaster relief, as well as community development assistance aimed at physical and economic development and redevelopment. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare administers welfare (income support) programs as well as social services programs, and the Department of the Treasury administers general and counter-cyclical revenue sharing. The Farm Home Administration and the Veterans Administration have housing assistance programs for their constituents. The Environmental Protection Agency is charged with devising national standards for air and water pollution, noise and toxic substances, and overseeing programs to ensure that the standards are attained.

The judiciary arm of the federal government under the constitutional principle of separation of powers exercises a significant impact on urban activities. The present thrust toward ensuring equality of opportunity to all citizens is, indeed, largely the result of judicial actions. The expansion of administrative action with respect to the environmental consequences of federal proposals is due, not only to the passage of the National Environmental Protection Act, proposed by the executive branch and passed by the Congress, but also to court decisions responding to its implementation.

The legislative branch at the federal level under the same principle of separation of powers is also deeply involved in urban matters. It is responsible for the legislation that affects urban as well as other areas of the national welfare and for appropriating the monies needed for federal action. Like the executive and judicial branches its approach is fragmented Different committees in the Senate and House of Representatives have jurisdiction over different aspects of the urban scene. Their members are both united, and divided, by their affiliation with the political party to which they belong and by their loyalty to the constituents they serve.

We have begun to understand that urban problems are inextricably related to other national problems. The concern regarding unintended effects on urban areas of policies and programs not specifically directed at them is growing. Federal tax policies, for example, have shaped investment in favor of new construction rather than rehabilitation of property. They also favor new materials rather than the reuse of ones already available. Highway construction and mortgage insurance have been determining factors in accelerating suburban growth. Federal policies concerning the location of federal facilities and federal procurement affect urban economies, and national air and water pollution standards may turn out to have an inhibiting effect on the growth of urban areas.

Federal economic development policy has not traditionally been viewed as an aggregate of numerous programs and policies. Rather it has been viewed in terms of specific and often small programs, such as Small Business Administration loans, Economic Development Administration projects, and community development loans which are approved on a case by case basis. Federal concern has traditionally been focused upon national economic growth, and less attention has been devoted to the distribution of that growth among areas within the United States. Although distressed areas were identified in the early 1960's, these were seen as rural areas left behind in the process of rapid urbanization, and the Area Redevelopment Administration and later the Economic Development Administration channeled development funds into rural counties suffering from chronic unemployment. The failure of many cities to benefit from the period of prolonged growth during the 1960's and the sharp decline in urban employment during the early 1970's have prompted a new look at the structure of federal policies and their effects on urban problems. These considerations have stimulated a greater consciousness of the importance of urban areas with respect to the national economy and the well-being of citizens; for example biennial reports are now prepared to describe national urban growth in the context of national policies.

III. Two Decades of National Urban Programs and Their Impact

The fundamental questions about the future of the nation's cities seem new because they are so urgent, and because our perceptions of what we thought were the problems have changed. In fact, the substandard quality of housing and amenities and the stifling congestion characteristic of so many cities today have been a matter of explicit national concern since the 1930's, and a fact of life for well over a century. This concern was comprehensively set forth in the Housing Act of 1949 which enunciated the goal of "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family." The Act established federal programs aimed at remedying the housing shortage through new housing construction, as well as redeveloping urban centers through clearance of slums and rebuilding. Its targeted, categorical grant programs were a further, expanded federal approach to helping cities and the disadvantaged people living in them. Together with the public housing program enacted in 1937, they created both high expectation and controversy, and had a number of unintended side effects. Urban redevelopment was based on a concept of large-scale, long-term clearance and rebuilding; it was not geared to produce short-term visible results. It also resulted in large-scale, visible displacement of many site occupants, leading to a criticism that it was "people removal." This latter criticism led to the first federal government program of assistance to those displaced by public action as part of urban renewal and to a restructuring of the urban redevelopment program to a more conservation-oriented, neighborhood rehabilitation program.

Mammoth high rise public housing developments in our larger cities, unlike the public housing development in medium and small-sized communities, became the mode for development of public housing in the 1950's - a result of federal policies which stressed the economy of high density development. Developments of this size and density, particularly in the absence of supporting social services not considered as housing costs, resulted in the concentration of low income families with multiple problems in poorer neighborhoods lacking supporting services - with resultant "problem projects." These problems led the Congress to mandate in a 1964 act that only under special circumstances were high rise structures to be built for family-type households in public housing.

Recognizing the need for a more coordinated administration at the federal level, the Congress created the Department of Housing and Urban Development in 1965. In 1966, the Congress, noting that cities did not have adequate resources to cope with the critical problems confronting them, enacted the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development (Model Cities) Act. Its purpose was to help cities develop and carry out locally prepared and scheduled comprehensive demonstration programs to cope with both social and physical problems, including increased citizen participation in decisions affecting their neighborhoods.

During the 1960's recognition of severe problems of urban poverty became much more general, especially after the urban riots of the middle and late sixties. A great deal of enthusiasm and innovation was invested in the programs of the War on Poverty and the Great Society of the Johnson Administration.

Major federal programs relating to aspects of the nation's central cities such as transportation, education, job training and employment were instituted at this time. The trend away from a preoccupation with shelter to a broader concept of urban problems was furthered by increasing dissatisfaction with the ability to coordinate and target separate program efforts within local communities. In some cases, separate program efforts contradicted each other, particularly in terms of timing. At the same time, there was a strong trend toward decentralization of the federal government role - with more emphasis on the role of state and local governments.

Center cities were not, in fact, without gains from some of these programs, particularly as federal grants facilitated new construction. Higher education facilities, new governmental, cultural and conference centers, high rise offices, apartments and highways often replaced tenements and decaying neighborhoods. On the other hand, freeways through parks polluted the air and degraded the quality of the only green space accessible to low income inner city residents. The social costs in the breakup of closely-knit neighborhoods and the personal trauma stemming from relocation were often great. A still additional development was the increasingly vocal environmentalist movement. These two separate forces stimulated the national growth policy provisions of the 1970 Housing and Urban Development Act and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1970 (NEPA).

NEPA's purpose is to preserve and enhance both the man-made and the natural environment. The Act directs federal agencies to assess the environmental consequences of legislation and other major federal actions significantly affecting the quality of the human environment and to use a systematic, interdisciplinary approach in planning and making decisions that may have an impact on man's environment. It provides a tool to examine alternate projects and their overall impacts.

The Housing and Urban Development Act called for the development of a national urban growth policy. Noting the conflicting nature of federal programs and the undesirable and costly patterns of urban development that resulted and their adverse impact on the environment, it directs that future programs must be interrelated and coordinated within a system of orderly development and established priorities developed at the state and local level.

General Revenue Sharing legislation was enacted in 1972. Its purpose was to redistribute monies collected by the federal government, with its greater taxing powers, to communities across America. The money so distributed was to be spent as communities saw fit, unlike the more targeted assistance under categorical grants. It was accompanied by a reduction of funds, unanticipated by the cities, for some of the categorical grant programs and resulted in less improvement than expected.

In 1974 the Congress enacted the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program. This program consolidated seven major categorical grant programs (model cities, urban renewal, open space land, historic preservation, neighborhood facilities, water and sewer, urban beautification) into a city-wide approach controlled by the cities themselves. The allocation of these funds was based on formula entitlement criteria (such as population, poverty, and housing condition) rather than on separate applications initiated by the local governments. There was a broad range of eligible activities for which a community could utilize its block grant funds. There was also a series of national objectives that community efforts must meet, particularly activities designed to eliminate slums and blight, and activities to assist lower income families. The first two years of community development block grant experience indicated a short-fall in meeting national objectives and a gap in filling the long-term redevelopment needs of communities not conducive to three-year programming. (The 1977 Housing and Community Development Act provided statutory amendments to address both of these conditions.)

At the same time that new approaches to housing programs were being developed the extensive urban freeway construction of the 50's and 60's came under scrutiny. Congress proceeded to enact major programs of federal aid to urban mass transit in 1970 and 1974. The result was the availability of federal money for the large-scale construction of new rail transit systems for the first time, as well as the provision of assistance for the operating costs of mass transit systems. This latter move reflected the fact that almost all major mass transit systems had gone from a profitable condition in 1960 to a deficit condition in 1970.

The new policies and programs notwithstanding, the high level of inner city distress continues and the assimilative capacity of cities is strained by two phenomena: first, an ongoing population shift of rural poor (mostly black) moving into cities, and second, the continued exodus of middle and higher income city residents to suburbs or to other developing regions, particularly in the sunbelt. The pattern of urban deterioration that led to a propensity for out-migration by upper and middle class residents has the related tendency for cities to lose existing industries as well as new development opportunities. This results in entrapment of poor residents, placing strain on urban fiscal resources and diminishing the taxable urban economic base. This loss of fiscal capacity has prevented cities from regenerating their economic losses, caused a fiscal and management capacity crisis, and significantly diminished the quality of urban life.

Faced with higher service demands, cities have found it increasingly difficult to trade off their budgets in support of capital investments needed to maintain and redevelop their infrastructure. With a deterioration in urban infrastructure comes a higher tax burden on industries, businesses, and ultimately on all urban residents (the poor, for example, pay higher rents). Given a limited ability of cities to raise taxes and still retain residents, service cuts and a further deterioration of physical infrastructure is inevitable.

These effects results in further cyclical impacts on cities; living costs increase, the quality of urban life diminishes as the quality of infrastructure and services drop, the ability of cities to attract new economic development wanes, and further emigration from the city occurs.

It is difficult to specifically array the effects of federal programs on the cities because definitive evidence is hard to find:

the relative importance of federal actions and how they work together is hard to determine and the relative contribution of federal actions to economic development is difficult to measure.

However, many federal policies that have created the strongest incentives for geographic changes are almost irreversible: highways cannot easily be torn up, nor can sewers, or other major federally assisted public investments. Indeed the diminishing role of federal aid for physical urban renewal has no doubt stimulated economic development in non-urban locations.

Monetary and fiscal stabilization instruments have failed to help the northeastern region. Income redistribution programs have transferred resources from the northeast to the south. Federal regulation of freight rates has stimulated the expansion of trucking at the expense of railroads, which has worked against the rail-based industries of the northeast. Regional variations in unemployment insurance benefits and in welfare benefits have attracted unskilled labor to the northeast where these benefits are highest.

The unintended, but nevertheless de facto, racial discrimination manifested in federal housing programs served to limit housing choices for blacks and other central city residents, exacerbating the cities' difficulties in fostering diversity and choice of living conditions.

Federal programs and activities, many of which have no specific urban orientation, have been discovered to negate intended benefits to cities or at best to counteract each other. It is in this light that government's building, depreciation, taxes, freight rate regulation and procurement policies, and the location of federal facilities must be seen. Highway investment, for example, by facilitating the dispersal of housing and commerce, has had a negative effect on inner cities, compounding the counterproductive impact of earlier housing policies and subsidies. The recently enacted Clean Air legislation may, depending on how its offset policy is administered, serve to counter some efforts to revitalize economic activity within older cities. On the other hand it can serve to bring about improvements in the quality of life as well as bring increased job opportunities. In an effort to strike a balance, current policy does not permit construction in areas that will lead to a worsening of air pollution problems that cannot otherwise be remedied.

The emphasis of the present Administration is to play a more active role in stimulating the partnership between public and private interests in revitalizing the central city. But the lessons of the previous decades are clear: there are not sufficient resources for the federal government to be the sole or even principal agent of changes in a private market economy. Government funding can only serve as "leverage" on private sector decisions. There is now a greater awareness, too, of the cumulative effects of the diverse government activities and of the need to forge a national urban policy.

Finally, there is now an awareness, difficult though it be to translate into day-to-day implementation of programs, that the many problems confronting inner cities are interrelated. Inadequate housing and unemployment, excessive energy use and the pollution of the environment, urban sprawl and inequality of access, all are interdependent. Their solution requires coordinated action across a broad spectrum of public policies and programs. And failure to respond to any one of these problems, it is now recognized, prevents effective resolution of the others.

IV. Government and the Private Sector

The impact of government on cities, especially at the federal level, has indeed been profound if often unanticipated in its scope and intensity. But the development of cities and the quality of life of their residents are as much or more the results of decisions and activities of the private sector. Such a perspective reflects both the ideology and reality of a predominantly market economy and of a society that looks upon its government to play a facilitative role for the exercising of private options. As indicated earlier the principal causes of urban decline are private market forces augmented or reinforced by state and federal policies, and age and density of the cities themselves. It is now clear that the long-term health of our cities depends on developing (and/or retaining) a viable base of private sector activity to provide jobs and tax base.

When it is most effective, federal urban policy reflects two basic principles. The first is that federal tools affecting private initiatives assure a good investment climate. The second is that federal programs eliminate current obstacles to constructive private sector investment in cities and create positive inducements for such investment.

But a large part of the problem is that the federal government is not successful in anticipating the geographical impact of its policy decisions. Environmental and economic impact statements are now in use but fail to address the national or even regional implications of federal programs. Studies have documented the anti-urban impact of many federal policies which theoretically are geographically neutral. Examples of this are past federal policies relating to highway construction, federal mortgage insurance, water and sewer grants and the federal income tax code. Federal policies and programs in these areas helped to mitigate the cost of access and infrastructure, thus making the benefited areas more economically attractive to business and residents at the expense of the older central city and the old northern manufacturing belt.

Direct federal action to spur private investment in cities

At the heart of any solution to improve the status of cities is the creation of a self-sustaining fiscal capacity to finance an adequate level of public services. In order to reach a level of self-sufficiency, a city must progress through a cycle which leads from improved capacity to improved conditions. Starting with an adequate institutional capacity, services and infrastructure can be effectively managed and perhaps improved with fiscal aid where appropriate. Rejuvenating the quality of urban life can then begin. A next step would be the recruitment of industry and commerce that could provide a jobs base for current residents and future immigrants to cities. Done in an atmosphere of improved opportunity for choice of living conditions, the city could begin building a fiscal capability of its own.

Revitalization strategies must cope with at least three major problem areas:

(a) Redeveloping urban infrastructure. An urban area's infrastructure is one of its greatest resources, but if obsolescent it also can be an impediment to new development and to reinvestment. Among the primary reasons for obsolescence are age and physical deterioration, the changing nature and requirements of urban life, and the development of new technologies; but obsolescence also results where a municipal government has to defer needed maintenance or modernization work because of a lack of funds.

(b) Improvements in the availability of long-term credit for urban business. Private lending institutions are often unwilling or unable to make long-term credit available to urban commercial ventures. Means must be found to eliminate blatant discrimination in financing policies and to encourage support for urban area initiatives.

(c) Enhancing employment opportunities and labor force productivity. Unemployment is generally much higher in cities than in their suburbs with many core city residents untrained and without the skills required by potential employers. The changing character of employment structures from factories to service industries makes it difficult for those with few skills to meet the requirements of the new jobs being created.

Improving the climate for private investment in distressed inner cities.

Given the role of the federal government in the United States vis-a-vis the private sector there are certain key areas in which national policies and programs can contribute to revitalization of inner cities:

(a) National full employment. Recessions cut into private investment and employment opportunities by slowing the rate of growth of expanding areas or regions and accelerating disinvestment and unemployment in declining areas. National economic recovery and a materially improved employment situation are vital to the success of more direct inducements to private investment in cities.

(b) Encouragement of reinvestment in existing facilities. Business investment has long been equated with investment in new plants and facilities. This view is largely the result of individual federal policies that have encouraged the replacement of facilities by new construction rather than rehabilitation. One of the most prominent examples of such policies requiring rethinking is the investment tax credit. Others include depreciation allowances for income tax purposes that are typically more rapid for new buildings than for older ones, giving owners of new facilities a tax advantage over those owning older facilities.

(c) Federal commitment to the viability of urban areas. The federal government has participated, and in some cases been a leader, in moving its facilities out of deteriorated city cores into newer sections and to the suburbs. The loss of these facilities, the goods and services needed to supply them, and the employment opportunities they generate has had a marked effect on the economies of these cities and on their private sector. By reviewing its own actions, the government can stimulate and reinforce private commitment to inner cities.

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In addition to these general policies, there can be specific emphasis in many programs on measures which will increase the effectiveness of federal grants by leveraging additional funds from the private sector and state and local governments. As an example of the kind of government/private sector collaboration that can occur in the various functional national agencies some illustrations are given below in the area of transportation.

Much is being done to encourage the combination of public and private efforts to place greater emphasis on planning for land development around transit stations. The Department of Transportation is now actively considering projects in a number of cities including Baltimore, Denver, Atlanta, Miami, Detroit and others. These projects are to be integrated with new transit systems under construction or extensions and major modernization of existing systems, such as existing and new retail and entertainment facilities.

Joint development opportunities are not restricted solely to transit. We have also encouraged joint development in the highway program. We believe that highways can and should make a positive contribution toward the enhancement of the environment through which they pass and assist communities in attainment of their development goals and objectives. This approach offers new potential for the nation's cities in making use of previously ignored air rights. For example, instead of demolishing buildings and removing land from the city tax rolls, Seattle was able to build a park largely on highway right-of-way that was purchased, paid for, and taken off the tax rolls some years ago.

Another example of public/private cooperation is in the Department of Transportation's efforts to develop auto-restricted zones, primarily in downtown commercial areas. The federal expenditures involved are very small when compared with the private redevelopment money involved in many of these projects, but the total impact created by that small federal investment is enormously important. In terms of return on investment, this type of joint development may be the most effective federal mechanism for influencing certain types of urban revitalization. Approximately 80 American cities have some type of auto-restricted zone, pedestrian mall, or transit mall, many of which are supported, in part, with transportation grant assistance.

Another way to encourage the development of composite strategies is through various local incentives and controls to reinforce the developmental impact of transportation facilities. These could include incentive zoning, allowance of land write-downs, tax abatement, and other local government actions that facilitate carefully planned development patterns.

A good example of the Administration's current ideas for improving local decision making may be found in the legislation that it has recently proposed to the Congress for significant reforms in highway and transit aid to states and cities. Major emphasis is placed on both improved planning and on the more flexible use of federal grants.

V. Citizen Involvement

Just as the economic well-being of the inner city requires participation by the private sector, so too the processes of decision making and implementation require effective partnership with residents. American citizens have always sought to influence governmental decision making. Unfortunately, neighborhood groups have not been able in many cities to find an urban revitalization role equal to their potential. Access to decision making and the ability to influence, if not directly control the future of their neighborhoods, is often marginal.

There are numerous constraints and problems related to public participation from the perspective of government. Authority to promote citizen participation and the related responsibilities of government agencies are often unclear, deficient, fragmented or nonexistent. Resources, staff, expertise and funding for efficient and effective promotion of citizen participation are weak compared with other responsibilities. The commitment and initiative of individual agencies has generally been of uneven quality, and the subject is not always accorded sufficient emphasis. Policies and practices also are not always responsive to the real needs and priorities of individual segments of the public, particularly low income inner city residents.

Citizens too, both groups and individuals, have numerous problems in working with government agencies. They often lack the information about the issue itself and the agency's processes that would enable them to function effectively. Many are apathetic or lack confidence in government and in government officials' willingness and ability to help them. Ingrained social and cultural factors also work to keep various individuals and groups from exercising their potential for constructive participation in decision making.

There have been instances of successful resident participation in revitalizing individual inner city neighborhoods and there is no reason why there cannot be more, given adequate recognition of the importance of citizen participation by citizens and government. In recognition of this problem, the current and recent Administrations have attempted to involve state and local officials and citizens groups in the development of new policies and programs.

The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 requires that federal agencies prepare an environmental impact statement (EIS) prior to taking any major action that significantly affects the quality of the human environment and that this statement be subject to public review. This requirement had led to an increasing body of litigation based on these statement and thereby afforded citizens another role in the making of decisions directly affecting the places in which they live.

Neighborhood spokesmen, business and labor groups, and civil rights organizations as well as state and local government representatives were extensively consulted in preparing the 1978 National Urban Policy Report. Methods proposed for enhancing citizen participation in urban revitalization included:

(a) expanded public access to information and decision making,

(b) technical assistance and training in effective community involvement for concerned citizens and the local government officials responsible for helping them,

(c) elimination of public apathy and distrust through concrete examples of the constructive effect of citizen participation in government decisions, and

(d) development of sensitive guidelines at the federal level that overcome social and cultural factors impeding effective citizen participation.

Many government officials and citizens throughout the country are now seriously committed to securing meaningful participation by citizens in the decisions that affect their neighborhoods. This commitment and the nature of the problems faced by each group suggests that improvement is possible.

VI. The Regional Context

Prior to the end of World War II, the urban region consisted almost entirely of urban centers that dominated their surrounding towns in terms of population, economic base, cultural and commercial activities, and political power. This dominance began to diminish with the prosperity of the post-War 1940's and 1950's and with the increased suburban growth pattern described earlier.

But more recently the suburbs too have experienced problems as a result of these trends, particularly as they have brought the need for costly improvements and other effects of uncoordinated development. Beginning in the post-War years, many have cooperated on regional ventures seen to be mutually advantageous, such as water and sewer treatment and transportation. New and highly technical or expensive services, such as specialized health services and the use of computers to assist emergency services and law enforcement, have since been added.

Policy makers at the city, state and federal level have come to believe that a multijurisdictional approach may provide some of the solution to their problems. Some 2,300 agencies have now evolved to plan and implement these multijurisdictional functional needs. They have been relatively successful partly because they deal with problems dispersed throughout the metropolitan region and shared by center city and suburbs alike. Nevertheless, most of these new agencies deal with but one aspect of urban needs.

The federal government has supported the development of comprehensive regional planning organizations which have a potential to deal with such distinct, but metropolitan concerns. Financial assistance for comprehensive planning was made available to regional agencies in 1954. In 1966, under the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act, these agencies were given the responsibility to act as clearinghouses to review and comment on applications for federal funding assistance to localities. There are now over 500 such agencies. But their efforts are hampered by their voluntary nature. In only a few areas, Minneapolis/St. Paul in Minnesota and Dade County in Florida, for example, has the concept of regionalism and multijurisdictional and multifunctional cooperation evolved into a more effective mechanism backed up by state laws.

Other federal programs such as transportation, air and water quality, also rely on regional planning strategies to coordinate interjurisdictional and interfunctional concerns. Many of these programs also seek to mitigate problems which cross local political jurisdictional boundaries. As one possible solution the Department of Housing and Urban Development has proposed a regional strategy that would coordinate federal assistance and review local strategies developed on a cooperative regional basis. The Department of Transportation now proposed to review the plans of urban areas of a million or more inhabitants to ensure that such concerns as air quality, energy conservation, environmental quality, accessibility to employment, housing, growth and future development have been reasonably addressed. After October 1, 1980 statewide planning of this type will be required by the Department of Transportation. Other agencies have proposed to introduce into their regular decision making processes a mechanism that will force rigid analysis of the urban and regional aspects of proposed policies.

No single approach is without drawbacks and larger metropolitan consolidation is not seen as a panacea. For example, central cities reduced in population and resources might lose their voting strength in comparison to other elements of a newly created metropolis. However, the many interdependencies that characterize the metropolitan area must be a factor in government planning and analysis. The federal government also needs to better coordinate its regional programs in order to help overcome weaknesses of local fragmentation.

VII. Lessons Learned and Future Objective

The changing role of cities and their many-faceted problems present a major challenge to public administrators and to concerned citizens. Solving this challenge requires, first of all, that we recognize the importance of our cities to the national well-being.

It is in our cities and their environs that most of our citizens live. They are the seats of government, of society and of learning. Most economic processes take place here, and the national capacity to produce goods and services effectively rests in no small measure on the adequacy of the urban infrastructure, on the satisfaction of employees, employers, and of the individual worker; and on the overall environment within which our citizens live.

If cities are to continue to fulfill the hopes for betterment that traditionally attract their residents, we must rethink our definition of the urban problem. We must understand that the problem, like the city itself, is a multifaceted complex; that solutions can no longer focus on individual sectors, groups of sectors, or even sections of the city without taking into account their interdependence with other components. We must recognize the linkages with national forces and even international trends which can significantly impact urban areas.

The United States, as noted in the previous sections, is beginning to recognize that its cities are too important to abandon, that the city is, indeed, a dynamic organism, and that an increased commitment to restoring the viability of this national resource is needed. We are learning that the proliferation of local government entities in metropolitan areas is rarely in the best interest of the area as a whole and that it is not enough to bring jobs to people, or people to jobs, if there is a mismatch between requirements and skills. Traditionally wanton in our use of energy and of the land, we are beginning to recognize that both must be husbanded.

Simply devoting more federal funds to short-term or one-time projects to ameliorate specific problems is clearly not the answer, as we have found. Causes as well as symptoms must be addressed. Federal efforts in different functional areas, such as housing, transportation, environmental controls and economic development, must be meshed, and there must be greater cooperation at all levels of government and between government and the private sector.

In sum, there must be an integrated, long-term effort to meet existing problems and to cope with future ones. To be effective, this effort must be accompanied by a continuing evaluation progress. There must be a willingness to take the broader view, to revise existing programs and to institute new ones when needs change or old measures are found wanting. The Appendix to this paper lists a number of key existing programs which form the basis for a renewed federal government effort and selected examples of recent initiatives are given below.

The United States government is committed to a long-term and continuing effort to meet stubborn urban problems and changing needs. As the President noted in his recent message on the State of the Union, the Community Development Block Grant program has been revised to make it more responsive to the needs of cities, particularly those suffering distress (see Appendix for description of programs). Its funds have been expanded and will be again next year if the Congress agrees. The Anti-Recession Fiscal Assistance (ARFA) program, which provides general purpose revenue supplements to states and cities to use at their discretion, is currently being reviewed to see if it can be made more efficient. The Administration plans to propose that it too be expanded in fiscal 1979.

As an important symbol of the current federal perspective, this Administration is committed to the solvency of New York City and is willing to propose that federal loans be continued next year if this is necessary, although it recognizes that this is not a permanent solution. Employment opportunities for inner city residents have been expanded under the Community Employment and Training Act which provides funds for public service positions for the chronically unemployed. Recent proposals by the federal government would significantly expand the discretion and flexibility of local government officials in the use of federal transportation funds.

We have initiated the Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) program, which is a new program designed to stimulate private investment in declining or distressed sections by enabling cities to carry out plans for joint public/private ventures that will revitalize them. Our Urban Homesteading program has been shifted from a demonstration to an operating program and has been made available throughout the nation. Under this program selected urban residents receive houses, whose mortgages had been guaranteed by the government and which have since been repossessed by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, on payment of one dollar and their agreement to rehabilitate the building to meet local building code standards, after which they receive full title to the property.

We are currently considering a metropolitan, area-wide environmental impact statement. Its objective would be to address the cumulative impact of planned growth and development on an area-wide basis rather than that of an individual project.

Another extremely important step has been the establishment of the Urban and Regional Policy Group, chaired by the Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development and composed of representatives of other cabinet-level agencies. It has held extensive meetings with representatives of state and local governments, civil rights organizations, business and labor groups and neighborhood spokesmen. Its recommendations will, as the President noted in his State of the Union Message, be the basis of the Administration's urban policy. This policy, as he also noted, will:

> build a more effective partnership between the federal government, state and local governments, the private sector, neighborhood groups and concerned citizens;
>
> be sufficiently flexible to meet the diverse needs of our urban areas and respond to particular problems of distressed areas;
>
> address the fiscal needs of hard-pressed urban governments as well as the economic and social needs of city residents;
>
> improve the urban physical environment and strengthen urban communities; and
>
> use federal assistance to stimulate job-creating investments by the private sector and to encourage innovative actions by state and local governments.

More specifically, we hope to:

> adopt and implement methods that will assist us to understand the causes of urban problems and to deal with them in a progressively more effective fashion through anticipatory rather than reactive planning;
>
> find the means to encourage the flow of private investment in our metropolitan areas; to finance our urban communities through private capital, as well as municipal, state and federal funds;

restore the inner city to a 24-hour life, through productive commercial, industrial and residential areas, upgrade housing stock, and institute social and economic policies that will bring improved opportunity to all urban residents;

build our cities in an environmentally sensitive and energy conserving manner through improvements in urban form and design, reducing travel distances, making public transportation viable, and selectively increasing urban densities and expanding public open space; and

implement new and constructive metropolitan-wide approaches to housing, education, and economic development in addition to land use and transportation.

This does not mean that we do not recognize that all American cities are not distressed. Many are "healthy." But many also have pockets of distress. And this is true also for many older suburbs, small towns and rural areas. Our aim is to rectify this distress where it occurs, and to prevent it from occurring elsewhere.

Many of the trends we have described are international in scope. All of the Allies have much to learn from each other's experiences. It is for this reason that we welcome this Round Table; for it clearly does not make sense to repeat the experience that we have already had, or that others have had, if we do not have to. We can learn from your experience and trust that you can learn from ours.

Appendix

A Selected List of Key Programs Addressing Urban Problems

Fiscal Assistance

1. Anti-Recession Finance Act (ARFA): Countercyclical aid: Funds to States and localities with unemployment above 4.5 per cent. Targets will be cities in distress; in 1977 per capita payments to high-distress cities were $16, compared to $3 for low-distress cities.
   FY 1978 - $1.6 billion.

2. Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA): Education Impact Aid - Funds to local school districts based on number of children in Federal facilities which are exempt from local property taxes.

3. Urban Development Action Grants (UDAG): Discretionary funds to distressed cities to meet non-recurring economic development opportunities. The program is aimed primarily at economic development and leveraging public and private sector funds.
   FY 1978 - $400 million.

4. Community Development Block Grants (CDBG): Funds distributed primarily by formula to local governments for neighborhood and economic development and rehabilitation activities principally benefitting low and moderate income persons. The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)-initiated statutory and criteria changes tilt program funds in favor of distressed cities and clearly focuses funds on the poor as well as distressed neighborhoods.
   FY 1978 outlay - $3.5 billion.

Employment

The Federal government presently is devoting almost $6 billion to promoting employment, generally through programs targeting greatest aid to areas of greatest need.

1. Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA): Funds to 450 State, county and city prime sponsors for employment (725,000) and training programs, including youth.
   FY 1978 - $3.683 billion.
   Training, FY 1978 - $1.780 billion.

2. Local Public Works: A temporary $6 billion budget authority program allocated on the basis of unemployment to States and localities. EDA estimates 42.4 per cent of the funds go to cities of over 50,000. Davis-Bacon wage levels are mandated.
   Outlay, FY 1978 - $.200 billion. (Balance was spent in FY 1977.)

3. Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects: Funds to Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) prime sponsors for youth employment program, and funds for the Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC), a revival of Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) program of 1930's.
   Urban Outlays, FY 1978 - $.372 million.

Strengthening Economic Base

1. Community Development Block Grants: Funds distributed primarily by formula to local governments for neighborhood and economic development and rehabilitation activities principally benefitting low and moderate income persons. The Carter Administration has amended the Block Grant Program to allow for more extensive economic development activities, and to encourage the development of comprehensive strategies at the local level.
   FY 1978 outlay - $3.5 billion.

2. Urban Development Action Grants (UDAG): Discretionary funds to distressed cities for economic development projects.
   FY 1978 - $400 million.

3. Economic Development Administration (EDA): Assistance Loans/Grants - Funds to cities and businesses for local capacity building with respect to economic development and for direct economic development purposes. Approximately 25 per cent of present funds are directed at urban areas. (There are no figures for central cities.)
   FY 1978 - $409 million.

4. Small Business Administration (SBA):
   Provides loans and grants for small business development.

Increasing Quality of Life

1. General Revenue Sharing:
   Provides general assistance to States and localities. Twenty per cent of aid to cities over 100,000. Provides slight advantage for distressed cities.
   FY 1978 outlay - $6.5 billion.

2. Planning and Technical Assistance Programs:
   Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) provides several types of planning and assistance.
   FY 1978 - $.064 billion.

3. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA):
Provides funds to States and cities for waste water treatment plants, etc.
FY 1978 Budget Total - $6.7 billion.

4. Department of Transportation (DOT):
Provides funds for Urban Highway and Urban Mass Transit programs.
FY 1978 - $2.58 billion.

5. Title XX Social Services:
Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) provides 75 per cent Federal matching for a broad range of State and local social services, such as day-care programs. No data presently available on urban allocation. Federal funding limited to $2.7 million obligated authority annually.

6. Compensatory, bilingual and Indian education programs:
Compensatory Education (ESHA Title I): Title I is providing $2.775 billion in supplementary education for poor children in 14,000 of the nation's 16,000 school districts. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) estimates that 38 per cent goes to urban districts. Funding based on number of low income children.

7. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA):
Provides grants through States and area wide public entities for improvements in law enforcement and crime prevention procedures.

8. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD): Assisted Housing Program - Provides funding to local housing authorities, State agencies and private nonprofit groups for new construction and for substantial rehabilitation and preservation of existing housing stock. The program level for the current fiscal year is 380,000 units, 50 per cent of which will be located in central cities.
FY 1978 Contract Authority - $1,258 billion.

9. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) - Housing for the Elderly/Handicapped:
In 1978, HUD will provide direct loan assistance for the construction of 24,000 units of elderly/handicapped housing Section 202), 50 per cent of which will be located in central cities.
FY 1978 lending limitation - $750 million.

10. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD):
Provides reduced interest loans for housing rehabilitation (Section 312). One hundred per cent of assisted units are in central cities.
FY 1978 lending limitation - $95 million.

PART III

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

PARTIE III

RESUME DES DEBATS

III. SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS

The CHAIRMAN opened the discussion on the presentations by the representatives of ten countries, observing that, while they had much in common, there were also differences especially as regards the levels of unemployment, the density considered desirable in the inner city areas and the historic heritage of the various cities. In his opinion, three major themes emerged from the remarks by the various speakers: the "dovetailing" approach to the highly diversified problems, participation in a real sense by the city dwellers in the definition of the lines of action and solutions and the rôle to be played by the private sector.

Mr. DORMER (United Kingdom) stated that it was the differences in situation which had struck him most and also the differences in the way in which the various countries determined and understood the same problems. With reference to the voluntary migration of the inner city dwellers to the outskirts which had been brought up by many speakers and to the various plans to reverse the trend, he wondered to what extent the public authorities could bring this off, however ingenious and persuasive the strategies employed. In the same connection, he said that he was rather sceptical about the prospects of bringing influence to bear on the local communities and of succeeding in getting them to participate in the real and effective sense of the word along the lines considered desirable by the experts and the public authorities.

Mr. SEIP (Norway) stated that small though Norway was it was experiencing, on the whole, the same problems as the other countries. For instance the centre of Oslo had lost a large part of its population in the last 30 years. However, there were no employment problems in the towns; the prospects in this respect were better there than anywhere else. As regards traffic problems, they had been very thoroughly studied with the help of local committees. The use of the bicycle had been encouraged and increased and pedestrian precincts and districts had been created. As regards progress in housing, new laws were making it possible to insist on the improvements which were considered necessary. In this connection, he pointed out that one of the problems arising in Oslo was that most of the apartments were very cramped. There was only one way of making them bigger and that was to knock two together into one which would obviously reduce the number of apartments accordingly. Experiments and studies were being carried out to find out how to restore the attraction of the inner city areas, to establish what density of population would be desirable in them and to investigate many of the other problems mentioned by the previous speakers such as the encouragement and development of local participation. The committees which had been formed in the towns had only acted in a consultative capacity up to now but it was hoped that their rôle would soon be extended to achieve true participation at all levels.

Finally Norway considered that the problem, which was not restricted to the inner city areas but one which comprised the whole urban predicament, was highly important and essentially political. For this reason a government committee chaired by Mr. Seip had been set up in Norway to study these problems and suggest ways of solving them.

Ms. WORTHY (United States) pointed out that, in the United States, it was now the third or even the fourth generation of city dwellers which was being asked to participate. To cite only one example, experience had shown that mortgages granted by the banks to those fulfilling the stipulated conditions had a decided effect; of course the towns were living organisms and thus in a perpetual state of change which meant that some of the repercussions of the measures taken were difficult or impossible to anticipate. For example, building costs had considerably increased, together with the cost of services, and many dwellings which had been cheaply renovated were being resold or rented at very inflated prices which again put pressure on the most under-privileged groups of city dwellers to move out. A new series of experiments was beginning and the results of active and real participation by the local population were difficult to predict.

One thing certain, however, was that it would in any case pave the way to a considerably more creative and promising situation. It was also certain that the migration to the city outskirts had slowed down to a great extent in the United States and that the inhabitants of the city neighbourhoods were playing a much more decisive rôle than before in the life of their area and were taking a much more active interest in its future.

Ambassador HARTKOPF (Netherlands) pointed out that the Netherlands differed from the United States in that one of the main problems was that of space. The towns were completely built up and for the construction of new houses the necessary ground would have to be freed. In any case, the struggle to prevent inner city decay could not stop at the concentration of effort on the affected areas alone, especially when the city dwellers were being urged to participate and the private sector to co-operate in a country as densely populated as the Netherlands. That was why the draft urban renewal bill provided for the integration and general co-ordination of the measures taken. Co-operation from the private sector prompts some questions one of which was the problem of knowing to what extent this sector was prepared to accept participation by the public sector and the city dwellers and to what extent it would tend rather to consider this as a hindrance and a nuisance. As for the answer to Mr. Dormer's question, namely whether new laws and action on the part of the public authorities were able to reverse a trend apparent in all the developed countries, the Netherlands Representative referred back to the factors which he had mentioned at the end of his presentation of the Netherlands study, each and every one of which might constitute an obstacle to the success of the efforts being made.

Mr. COSTLE (United States) quoted the United States model-town experiment which had called for participation by the citizens and by the private sector and for which approximately 150 towns had been chosen and subsidized. This experiment had demonstrated that the concept of a "local community" covered widely varying circumstances in each town and that the public authorities had to adopt a flexible attitude to the diverse situations and take the variation in local factors into account.

Mr. SALVO (Italy) also underlined the fact that a very high number of factors had to be taken into account which of course meant there was no possibility of finding a single, ideal solution. Solutions specifically tailored for each situation, where the various factors were suitably dovetailed, would enable progress to be made and the necessary balance to be struck between legitimiate but contradictory expectations, even those of city dwellers who wished to retain their freedom of choice but were at the same time asking the administrative authorities for assistance. Italy would try to make progress along these lines; as Mr. Lapadula had said a wide range of programmes were being put in hand on the basis of criteria such as the "personality" of the town, the socio-geographical situation in the North or the South, regard for individual and collective liberties, etc.

Mr. DULIEU (Belgium) replied to the question on whether the public authorities were in a position to brake or reverse the trend as regards migration from the town centres, stating that in his opinion the inhabitants had not deserted the town but that they had been expelled by the deterioration in the environment and the fact that the ground had been taken over for purposes other than housing. Thus, the reversal of the trend implied that the inhabitants must no longer be driven out, i.e. that the installation of new administrative premises in the town centres must be strictly controlled, that of shops being, on the other hand, encouraged;

that the remaining housing space must be salvaged and ground retrieved by demolishing old and broken-down out-buildings, sheds and hangars; that traffic must be restricted and play areas installed. As regards participation by the city dwellers, Mr. Dulieu considered that there was no ready-made formula and that consultation should not be carried out on too rigidly organized lines. The type of consultation which was not legally provided for was usually the most fruitful, for example, consultation where the administrative authorities, in a sense, sounded out the citizens. As regards participation by city dwellers in the work itself, this was very difficult to organize in Belgium where the administrative structure was such that co-operation with private individuals was well-nigh impossible.

Mr. FAIRCLOUGH (United Kingdom) considered that the key phrase in this Round Table discussion was in the blue booklet published after the Round Table discussion held in Dusseldorf in 1977, namely that it was now necessary to make the transition from a consumer policy to a conservation policy, to extract maximum benefit from what already existed. This was a much more tricky policy to carry out than a simple consumer policy. Participation by the city dwellers was an essential factor, as was a carefully co-ordinated approach at public authority level to avoid spending millions of dollars which would finally cancel out other measures which had also cost millions of dollars, as Mr. Costle had pointed out in presenting the United States study. Care must be taken to see that the measures taken in the various sectors complemented each other instead of conflicting and cancelling each other out. Without in any way infringing liberties and over-controlling, the public authorities could certainly be considerably more go-ahead than they had been so far, particularly as regards taxes, streamlining by means of correlating the administrative procedures to be followed by the city dwellers and possible moves such as providing unoccupied municipal housing free of charge subject to specified conditions.

Ms. WORTHY (United States) pointed out that this sort of thing had already been tried in the United States: houses had been offered at the symbolic price of one dollar on condition that the occupier undertake to repair and modernize it, the house subsequently becoming his property. A great many people had already benefited from this experiment, which was being continued with excellent results. As regards taxes, funds had been granted to the town authorities to encourage them to co-operate with the private sector.

Mr. CHABASON (France) stated that the new town experiment had not obtained the desired result in France; it had turned out to be extremely difficult to build up from scratch the social, cultural and psychological environment essential to the life of a city. For this reason, France had turned towards the medium-sized town policy, i.e. the concept of an existing nucleus around which a new belt was formed. This approach certainly had its disadvantages but was nevertheless preferable to the creation of a new town from scratch.

Mr. COSTLE (United States) announced that two privately promoted new towns and twelve publicly promoted new towns had been built in the United States. The first two were thriving and prosperous and the twelve others had become bankrupt, which could be partly blamed on the fact that they had been created from 1975 onwards, i.e. in an unfavourable economic climate; the result would perhaps have been more positive in better economic conditions. Now the trend was towards medium-sized, moderately developed towns created around a pre-existing epicentre.

Mr. SALVO (Italy) pointed out that the problem being tackled by the developed countries at the moment, namely the restoration of part of the population to the abandoned city centres, had already been a problem in the time of Menenius Agrippa who, in 493 B.C., tried to bring back the proleteriat, which had withdrawn to the Sacred Mount. In this connection, he stressed that Rome had not been built in a day, that the life of a city was reckoned in centuries if not in millenia and that the question involved as much, if not more, time and patience than planning and deliberate action. In any case, Italy was not prepared to fall back on a control system or to direct population movements even by indirect means. One had to be resigned to some failures, which were often only temporary, and maintain the reasonably optimistic attitude fostered by the unanimous determination expressed at this Round Table discussion.

Mr. PFLAUMER (Germany) did not consider that it would be possible to put a complete stop to the exodus from the towns. The living conditions prevailing there still compared very unfavourably with those in the outlying areas and it was because of this that the outskirts still attracted the city dwellers, not because of any objection in principle to urban life. He did think, however, that it would be possible to slow down the exodus to a considerable extent and that this would justify any efforts expended to achieve it. In any case, whatever the results of such efforts, the cities would develop and change shape if only because the decreased density of the population inevitably resulted in the modernization of the cities. In this connection, the concept of modishness mentioned by Mr. Bodenhagen with reference to the renovation to some old districts in Copenhagen would, in his opinion, have to be disregarded in the studies on the type of housing development desirable in the cities; a study of this sort was at present being carried out in Germany. This study took account of the developing trend in the function of the cities on the one hand and of the fact that people could not be asked to make a sudden change in the framework of their life on the other. The maintenance of tradition provided a feeling of security and human beings needed this feeling. For this reason, Mr. Pflaumer considered that the period of sluggish economic growth which we were experiencing paradoxically provided an opportunity for urban development on a comprehensive basis; because the pressure of a boom economy had been relieved, funds were limited and therefore had to be used to best effect without wastage and this would in itself already constitute a step forward in solving the problems of the inner city areas.

The CHAIRMAN summarized the solutions proposed by the various countries for the improvement of the situation (see Part I), and concluded by stating that the whole question really turned on our ability to organize our physical and social environment while preserving the best of the past and building the future.

III. RESUME DES DISCUSSIONS

En ouvrant la discussion sur les présentations faites par les Représentants de dix pays, le PRESIDENT note qu'il existe entre eux de nombreuses similitudes de situation, mais aussi des différences notamment en ce qui concerne les niveaux du chômage, la densité souhaitable des centres urbains, et le patrimoine historique des différentes cités. Il lui semble que trois thèmes importants ressortent des interventions des différents orateurs : l'approche "intégrée" des problèmes qui sont de nature très diverse, la participation effective des citoyens de la définition des orientations et des solutions et le rôle du secteur privé.

M. DCRMER (Royaume-Uni) se déclare surtout frappé par les différences de situation et aussi par la façon différente dont les mêmes problèmes sont perçus et ressentis selon les pays. Prenant l'exemple de la migration volontaire des habitants des centres vers la périphérie, qui a été mentionnée par de nombreux orateurs, et des diverses solutions envisagées pour renverser cette tendance, il se demande dans quelle mesure les pouvoirs publics en sont capables, quelles que soient l'ingéniosité et la force de persuasion des stratégies qu'ils déploient. Dans ce même ordre d'idée, il se déclare assez sceptique sur les possibilités d'exercer une influence sur les communautés locales et d'obtenir d'elles une participation véritable et efficace dans le sens jugé souhaitable par les experts et les pouvoirs publics.

M. SEIP (Norvège) déclare que bien que la Norvège soit un petit pays, elle connaît dans l'ensemble les mêmes problèmes que les autres pays. Le centre d'Oslo par exemple s'est considérablement dépeuplé au cours des trente dernières années. Cependant, il n'y a pas de problèmes d'emploi dans les villes où, de ce point de vue, les possibilités sont meilleures que partout ailleurs. Pour ce qui est des problèmes de circulation, ils ont été étudiés très complètement, avec l'aide des comités locaux. L'usage de la bicyclette a été encouragé et développé, de même que la création de rues et de quartiers piétonniers. En ce qui concerne l'amélioration de l'habitat, la nouvelle législation permet d'imposer les améliorations jugées nécessaires. M. Lykke signale à ce sujet l'un des problèmes qui se pose à Oslo et qui est celui de l'exiguïté de la plupart des appartements. Pour les agrandir, il n'existe qu'un seul moyen qui est d'en réunir deux en un, ce qui évidemment réduit d'autant le nombre des appartements et oblige à en construire de nouveaux. Les expériences et les études se poursuivent sur la façon de rendre leur attrait aux centres villes, sur la densité de population qui y est souhaitable et sur nombre d'autres problèmes soulevés par les orateurs précédents, tels que la promotion et le développement de la participation locale. Les comités créés dans les villes n'ont eu jusqu'à présent qu'un rôle consultatif, qui, espère-t-on sera bientôt élargi à une véritable participation à tous les niveaux.

En conclusion, la Norvège considère le problème, qui n'est pas seulement celui des centres villes, mais l'ensemble des problèmes urbains, comme très important, et de nature politique. C'est pourquoi un comité gouvernemental, présidé par M. Seip, a été créé en Norvège pour les étudier et proposer des solutions.

M. WORTHY (Etats-Unis) fait observer qu'aux Etats-Unis, c'est maintenant la troisième ou même la quatrième génération de citoyens qui est appelée à la participation. Pour ne citer qu'un exemple, l'expérience a prouvé que les prêts hypothécaires accordés par les banques aux personnes remplissant les conditions voulues exercent une influence certaine; évidemment, les villes sont des organismes vivants et sont donc en perpétuelle évolution et certaines conséquences des actions entreprises sont difficiles ou impossibles à prévoir. Par exemple les coûts à la construction ont augmenté considérablement, ceux des services également, et beaucoup de maisons rénovées à peu de frais sont revendues ou louées à des prix très élevés, ce qui oblige encore les catégories les plus pauvres d'habitants à émigrer. Une nouvelle série d'expériences commence maintenant et il est difficile de prévoir quel sera le résultat d'une active et réelle participation locale. Il est certain cependant qu'elle conduit en tout cas à une créativité et à une ouverture beaucoup plus grande. Il est certain également que le mouvement d'émigration vers la périphérie des villes s'est considérablement ralenti aux Etats-Unis et que les habitants des quartiers prennent une part beaucoup plus déterminante qu'autrefois à la vie de leur quartier et s'intéressent beaucoup plus activement à son avenir.

L'AMBASSADEUR HARTKOPF souligne qu'aux Pays-Bas, à la différence des Etats-Unis, l'un des problèmes principaux qui se pose est celui de l'espace. Le terrain des villes est entièrement construit et pour bâtir de nouvelles maisons, il faut dégager le terrain nécessaire à leur implantation. De toute façon, la lutte contre le dépérissement des centres villes ne peut se faire en concentrant les efforts uniquement sur ces centres eux-mêmes, surtout lorsque l'on fait appel à la participation des citoyens et la collaboration du secteur privé, dans un pays où la densité de population est aussi forte qu'aux Pays-Bas. C'est pourquoi le projet de loi sur la rénovation urbaine prévoit les dispositions nécessaires à l'intégration et à la coordination générale des actions entreprises. La collaboration du secteur privé pose en effet quelques questions, parmi lesquelles celles de savoir dans quelle mesure il est prêt à accepter la participation du secteur public et celle des citoyens et dans quelle mesure il les considère plutôt comme une entrave et une gêne. Quant à savoir, en réponse à la question posée par M. Dormer, si une nouvelle législation et l'action des pouvoirs publics sont capables de renverser une tendance qui s'est fait jour dans tous les pays développés, le Représentant des Pays-Bas renvoie aux questions qu'il a posées à la fin de sa présentation de l'étude des Pays-Bas et qui pourrait constituer autant d'obstacles à la réussite des efforts en cours.

M. COSTLE (Etats-Unis) cite l'expérience américaine des cités modèles qui faisait appel à la participation des citoyens et du secteur privé et pour laquelle environ 150 villes ont été choisies et subventionnées. Cette expérience a fait apparaître que le concept de "communauté locale" recouvre des réalités très différentes dans chacune des villes et que l'action des pouvoirs publics doit être assez souple pour s'adapter à ces différences et tenir compte de la diversité locale.

M. SALVO (Italie) souligne également le très grand nombre de facteurs dont il faut tenir compte et qui rendent évidemment impossible l'application d'une solution unique et idéale. Seules des solutions adaptées à chaque cas et intégrant et harmonisant les divers facteurs de façon appropriée permettront de progresser et de trouver l'équilibre nécessaire entre des aspiration légitimes mais contradictoires, quand ce ne serait que celles des citoyens qui désirent rester libres de leur choix mais réclament en même temps l'aide de l'administration. C'est dans cette voie que s'efforce d'avancer l'Italie qui, comme l'a dit M. Lapadula, met en oeuvre une diversité de programmes, selon un certain nombre de critères ("personnalité" de la ville, situation socio-géographique au nord ou au sud, respect des libertés, etc.).

M. DULIEU (Belgique) répondant à la question de savoir si les pouvoirs publics peuvent freiner ou renverser la tendance de l'abandon des centres villes, considère que l'habitant n'a pas abandonné la ville, mais qu'il en a été chassé par la dégradation de l'environnement et l'accaparement du sol à d'autres fins qu'à l'habitat. Il s'agit donc, si l'on veut renverser la tendance, de ne plus l'en chasser, c'est-à-dire de limiter très fermement l'implantation d'administrations nouvelles dans les centres, d'y favoriser au contraire l'implantation de commerces, de sauver ce qui reste d'habitat, tout en récupérant de la surface par la démolition d'appentis, dépendances, remises et hangars vétustes et délabrés, de limiter la circulation et d'aménager des espaces de jeux. En ce qui concerne la participation des citoyens, M. Dulieu estime qu'il n'existe pas de formule toute faite, et que leur consultation ne doit en aucun cas être organisée de façon trop stricte. En général, les consultations les plus fructueuses sont celles qui ne sont pas prévues par la loi, celles où l'administration se met en quelque sorte à l'écoute de ses administrés. Quant à la participation des citoyens au travail proprement dit, elle est très difficile à organiser en Belgique où les structures ne permettent guère la coopération avec les particuliers.

M. FAIRCLOUGH (Royaume-Uni) estime que la phrase clé de la présente Table ronde se trouve dans le Livre bleu publié à l'issue de la Table ronde tenue à Düsseldorf en 1977, à savoir qu'il faut maintenant passer d'une politique de consommation à une politique de conservation, tirer le meilleur parti possible de ce qui existe déjà. C'est une politique plus délicate à mener que la simple politique de consommation. La participation des citoyens y est indispensable, de même qu'une approche soigneusement intégrée au niveau des pouvoirs publics pour éviter que des milliards de dollars soient dépensés pour finalement réduire à néant le fruit d'efforts qui ont coûté eux aussi des milliards de dollars, ainsi que l'a dit M. Costle dans la présentation de l'étude des Etats-Unis. Il faut veiller à ce que les résultats des actions entreprises dans les différents secteurs s'additionnent au lieu de se combattre et de se détruire les uns les autres. Sans aucunement porter atteinte aux libertés et tomber dans un excès de dirigisme, il est certain aussi que les pouvoirs publics pourraient prendre des initiatives beaucoup plus hardies que celles qu'ils ont prises jusqu'à présent, notamment dans le domaine fiscal, dans celui de la simplification par intégration des démarches administratives à effectuer par les citoyens et, entre autres exemples, par l'offre à titre gracieux, moyennant certaines conditions, de logements libres appartenant aux municipalités.

Mme WORTHY (Etats-Unis) signale que ce genre d'initiatives a déjà été expérimenté aux Etats-Unis : des maisons ont été offertes pour le prix symbolique de $ 1 à condition que le preneur s'engage à la restaurer et à la moderniser et elles deviennent ensuite sa propriété. Cette expérience qui a déjà bénéficié à un très grand nombre de personnes se poursuit avec de très bons résultats. Dans le domaine fiscal, des fonds ont été donnés aux municipalités pour les encourager à collaborer avec le secteur privé.

M. CHABASON (France) indique qu'en France, l'expérience des villes nouvelles n'a pas donné les résultats espérés; il est apparu qu'il est extrêmement difficile de créer de toutes pièces l'environnement social, culturel et psychologique indispensable à la vie d'une cité. C'est pourquoi la France s'est orientée vers la politique des villes moyennes, c'est-à-dire d'un noyau déjà existant autour duquel on crée une nouvelle ceinture. Cette approche a certes ses défauts, mais est en tout cas préférable à la création ex-nihilo d'une ville nouvelle.

M. COSTLE (Etats-Unis) indique qu'il y a eu aux Etats-Unis création de deux villes nouvelles due à l'initiative privée et de douze villes nouvelles due à l'initiative des pouvoirs publics. Les deux premières sont vivantes et prospères, les douze dernières ont fait banqueroute, ce qui peut être attribué en partie au fait qu'elles ont été créées à partir de 1975, c'est-à-dire dans une conjoncture économique défavorable; le résultat aurait peut-être été plus positif dans des conditions économiques meilleures. L'on s'oriente maintenant vers une politique des villes moyennes et de développement modéré autour d'un noyau préexistant.

M. SALVO (Italie) fait observer que le problème qu'essaient de résoudre actuellement les pays développés, à savoir remplir le coeur des villes désertées par une partie de leur population, était déjà celui de Menenius Agrippa essayant en 493 avant J.C. de ramener à Rome la plèbe qui s'était retirée sur le Mont Sacré. Il souligne à ce propos que Rome n'a pas été bâtie en un jour, que la vie des villes se compte en siècles, sinon en millénaires, et que c'est une affaire de temps et de patience autant sinon plus que de plan et de volonté délibérée. L'Italie en tout cas n'est pas disposée à se tourner vers le dirigisme et à régler, même par des moyens détournés, les mouvements de population. Il faut savoir accepter certaines défaites, qui souvent ne sont que temporaires, et garder l'espoir raisonnable que permet d'entretenir la volonté unanime manifestée au cours de cette Table ronde.

M. PFLAUMER (Allemagne) ne pense pas qu'il sera possible de mettre définitivement un terme à l'exode hors des villes. Les conditions de vie qui s'y sont développées se comparent en effet encore très désavantageusement avec celles que l'on peut avoir dans leurs périphéries, et c'est la raison pour laquelle la périphérie continue à attirer les citadins, et non en raison d'objection de principes qu'ils auraient contre la vie urbaine. Il pense toutefois qu'il sera possible de ralentir considérablement cet exode et que ce ralentissement justifiera tous les efforts qui auront été faits pour l'obtenir. Quel que soit d'ailleurs le succès de ces efforts, les villes évolueront , leur forme changera, quand ce ne serait qu'en raison de la densité réduite de population qu'entraîne inévitablement leur modernisation. Il lui semble à ce propos que la notion de mode, qui a été évoquée par M. Bodenhagen, au sujet de la rénovation de certains anciens quartiers de Copenhague, devrait être écartée dans les études sur le type d'habitat dont le développement serait souhaitable dans les villes, étude qui est actuellement en cours en Allemagne. Cette étude tient compte du fait, d'une part que la fonction des villes évolue et, d'autre part qu'il ne faut pas demander aux gens de changer brutalement de cadre de vie. Le maintien des traditions donne un sentiment de sécurité et les êtres humains ont besoin de ce sentiment. C'est pourquoi M. Pflaumer considère que la période de ralentissement économique que nous traversons constitue paradoxalement une chance pour le développement urbain dans son ensemble, car la pression d'une économie en expansion galopante s'est relâchée, les ressources sontlimitées et doivent donc être utilisées au mieux, en excluant tout gaspillage, ce qui en soi-même sera déjà un pas en avant vers la solution des problèmes des centres villes.

Le **PRESIDENT** après avoir résumé les solutions d'amélioration proposées par les divers pays (voir Partie I) conclut en disant que ce qui est véritablement en cause, c'est notre capacité à organiser notre environnement physique et social en conservant le meilleur du passé tout en construisant l'avenir.